ANCIENT MALWA AND THE VIKRAMĀDITYA TRADITION

D. C. SIRCAR

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by

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MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL, DELHI

MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL
Oriental Publishers
Post Box 1165, Nai Sarak, Delhi-6

954.01
S A

4116

First Published January, 1969

© 1966 by Dines Chandra Sircar

State Museum Library
Lucknow

PRINTED BY D. P. SINHA AT THE NEW AGE PRINTING PRESS, RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI-55, AND PUBLISHED BY DEVENDRA JAIN FOR MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL, 10-B SUBHASH MARG, DELHI-6.

To Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee whose Appreciation and Encouragement have always been a Great Inspiration to me.

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PREFACE

In 1912, the Syndicate of the University of Calcutta decided in favour of the foundation of the Chair of the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture. It was resolved that the holder of the Chair would have to deliver courses of public lectures. G. Thibaut served for a short period as the first Carmichael Professor (1913-14), and his successor, D. R. Bhandarkar (1917-36), delivered three courses of 'Carmichael Lectures' in the years 1918, 1921 and 1923 respectively on 'Ancient Indian History', 'Ancient Indian Numismatics' and 'Aśoka'.

Sometime later (cf. the resolutions of the Senate dated the 11th May, 1929), certain new rules were adopted and, according to these, the Carmichael Professor was required to deliver not less than four lectures in his subject per week to the post-graduate students of the University probably in lieu of the public lectures. That seems to be the reason why no 'Carmichael Lectures' were delivered later either by Bhandarkar himself or by his successors, H. C. Raychaudhuri (1936-52) and J. N. Banerjea (1952-59).

In 1929-31 when I attended Bhandarkar's classes as a student in the Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, I was inspired not only by his reputation as a great Indologist, but also by his three volumes of 'Carmichael Lectures' which were our prescribed text books. Three decades later when I joined the University as Carmichael Professor on the 19th June, 1961, old memories were urging me to deliver a course of 'Carmichael Lectures' in emulation of my illustrious teacher and predecessor, although my friends here regarded the move as rather uncalled for. Ultimately it was decided that I would deliver a course of eight lectures on 'Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition' during the month of September 1962. In this connection, I am thankful to Dr. G. C. Raychaudhuri, the Registrar, who kindly made arrangements for the lectures, and to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the late Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Dr. R. G. Basak and Dr. U. N. Ghoshal who were good enough to preside over the lectures on different dates.

The aim of the present lectures is to demonstrate the unhistoricity of the tradition, according to which a mighty emperor named Vikramāditya ruled at Ujjayinī in West Malwa about the middle of the first century B. C. and founded the well-known Vikrama-saṁvat of 58 B.C. Lectures I-V deal with the history of Malwa from the sixth century B.C. down to the beginning of the fifth century A.D. in order to show that there is no space for the traditional Vikramāditya at Ujjayinī in the first century B.C., while the growth and gradual development of the Vikramāditya saga and the association of Vikramāditya's name with the era of 58 B.C., many centuries after its foundation, have been discussed in Lectures VI-VIII.

Indeed, after the publication of the *Devīcandragupta* fragments in 1923, there can be little doubt that the Vikramāditya tradition primarily developed around the glorious achievements of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya (376-413 A.D.). But there are still some people in our country, who believe in king Vikramāditya's rule at Ujjayinī in the first century B.C. I felt the necessity of dealing with the problem in some detail on a perusal of some of the articles appearing in the *Vikrama Volume* (edited by R. K. Mookerji), 1948, and Chapter X (pp. 154-58) of Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II (*The Age of Imperial Unity*), 1951. More than fifteen years ago, when I was invited to contribute some chapters to a proposed *History of Malwa*, I thought of discussing the Vikramāditya problem in that context. Unfortunately, however, the scheme did not materialise. The idea again occurred to me when I was thinking of a suitable subject for my 'Carmichael Lectures, 1962'.

The purpose of the lectures will be satisfactorily served and my labours amply rewarded if these are of any help to the younger students of ancient Indian history in evaluating the available evidence for determining whether a great emperor named Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama-saṁvat, could have really reigned at Ujjayinī in the first century B.C.

I am indebted to my pupils, Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya and Dr. S. Bandyopadhyay, who have prepared the Index and the Bibliography respectively.

D. C. SIRCAR

645, New Alipore, Calcutta-53,
June 1, 1968

LECTURE I

MALWA AND THE MĀLAVAS

I

LOCALITIES NAMED AFTER THE MĀLAVAS

The geographical name Mālava or Malwa[1] is certainly derived from the name of an ancient Indian people called Mālava, who settled in different parts of the country, which later came to be known after them. The well-known Malwa tract in Central India became famous under this name considerably later than the second century A.D. when its eastern part was known as Ākara (often called Daśārṇa) with Vidiśā as its capital and its western part as Avanti with its capital at Ujjayinī (also called Avantī).[2] Vidiśā is modern Besnagar near Bhilsa while Ujjayinī, now called Ujjain, lies in the western region of the former Gwalior State recently merged in Madhya Pradesh. These Ākara-Daśārṇa and Avanti tracts became later known as Mālava.

The name Mālava-Malwa is now applied generally to the old Central India Agency including the former Gwalior, Indore, Dhar, Bhopal and other States[3] together with some contiguous areas of the old Central Provinces such as the Saugor District. After India's independence, many of the said Native States were merged in the State of Madhya Bharat which was itself merged at a later date in the State of Madhya Pradesh (*i.e.*, the old Central Provinces).[4]

The said Malwa territory is a table-land of uneven surface, between 1500 and 2000 feet above the sea-level, bounded on the west by the Aravalli range, on the south by the

Vindhyas, on the east by Bundelkhand and on the north-east by the valley of the Ganges. But the same name or a similar one is found to be borne by smaller and lesser known areas far away from the above region. Thus Malwa is a village in the Fatehpur District of U. P. and Malvan is a sub-division of the Ratnagiri District of Maharashtra. A tract called Malava or Male-nāḍu (literally, 'the hilly district') is also located in the Tamil-speaking areas.

As we shall presently see, there were Mālava settlements in ancient times in the Punjab and Rajasthan. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang seems to have differentiated the Ujjayinī (Chinese *Wu-she-yen-na*) tract from the Mālava (Chinese *Mo-la-p'o*) country which was situated near the river Mahī (Chinese *Mo-ha*) in Gujarat and comprised Kheṭa (modern Kaira) and Ānandapura (modern Vaḍnagar).[5] According to a tradition recorded by the pilgrim, the said Mālava country formed a part of the dominions of the Maitraka king Śīlāditya I Dharmāditya (605-09 A.D.) of Valabhī, while the same territory seems to be called the district of Mālavaka in two copper-plate grants of Maitraka Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (629-43 A.D.).[6] On the other hand, the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, who wrote in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. and was a contemporary of Hiuen-tsang and the said Maitraka kings, clearly suggests that Avanti was the name of the land of which Ujjayinī was the chief city, while the Mālava country had its capital at Vidiśā.[7]

Thus about the beginning of the seventh century, there were at least two important territories bearing the name Mālava, the first being a tract in the Mahī valley in Gujarat and the second in the eastern part of modern Malwa. There is further evidence in support of both the cases.[8]

The Tibetan writer Tāranātha speaks of a Mālava in Prayāga, *i.e.*, in the present Allahabad region.[9] This, of course, reminds us of the village of Malwa in the Fathepur District. The Mālava country which scholars are sometimes inclined to locate in the Western Ghats[10] seems to be associated with the present Malvan in the Ratnagiri District. There was also an early medieval tradition regarding the existence of no less than seven Mālava countries. Anantapāla, a feudatory of the later Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A.D.) of Kalyāṇa claims to have subdued the seven Mālava countries upto the Himalayas. But it is difficult to locate all the seven Mālavas if they really existed in the age of the later Cālukyas,[11] though we can think, in this connection, of the various Mālavas we know, viz. those in the Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa, Fatehpur, Ratnagiri and Tamilnad.

The name of the Mālavas, like that of the Malaya mountain range, is probably derived from the Dravidian word *malai* meaning 'a hill'. But the earliest trace of the Mālava tribe is found in the Punjab, far away from the present habitat of the Dravidian-speaking peoples of South India. The problem is, however, similar to that of the existence of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis in Baluchistan.[12]

II

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MĀLAVAS

In the fourth century B.C., when Alexander invaded the north-western regions of India, the Mālavas (called Malloi by the Greeks) lived in the land lying to the north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab and were probably confederated with the Kṣudrakas inhabiting the Montgomery region of the Punjab.[13] The association of the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas is known to the *Mahābhārata*[14] and to the early grammarians who class these tribes among peoples living by the profession of arms.[15]

About the close of 326 B.C. when Alexander was advancing towards the south in order to reach the mouth of the Indus, he first subdued the Śibis (Siboi) and their neighbours not far from the confluence of the Chenab and the Jhelam. Reports then reached the Macedonian king that the Mālavas (Malloi), Kṣudrakas (Oxydrakai) and other independent tribes occupying the river valleys were forming a confederacy in order to offer a strenuous resistance to the invader. Alexander hastened his movements with the object of attacking the confederates severally and landed at the head of a picked force to operate against the Mālavas who were the most formidable of the allied tribes and lived on both the banks of the Ravi.

The Kṣudrakas inhabiting the valley of the upper course of the Beas were ordinarily at war with the Mālavas, but were now eager to make a common cause against the invader. The two tribes are said to have cemented their alliance by wholesale inter-marriage by giving and taking ten thousand girls for wives. Unfortunately personal jealousies prevented the alliance from taking effect. When they were discussing the claims of the rival generals to command, Alexander jumped upon the Mālavas before the Kṣudrakas could come to their aid. The swift action of Alexander was justified in view of the fact that the combined armed strength of the Mālava-Kṣudraka confederacy comprising about 90,000 fully equipped infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 900 chariots was sufficient to annihilate the small flying column at the Macedonian king's disposal. Still the Macedonians were alarmed at the magnitude of the Mālava forces and a rebellion of the soldiers was prevented by a stirring address delivered by Alexander.

By forced marches across the waterless uplands between the valleys of the Chenab and the Ravi, the Macedonian king completely surprised the Mālavas who were then mostly working unarmed in the fields. Most of the helpless people were cut to pieces without having any opportunity to offer resistance. The Greeks then shut up the Mālavas in their fortified towns. One of these towns, situated on a hill, was stormed by Alexander and 2000 of the garrison were killed. The inhabitants of another town fled to the marshes in the river valley and were pursued by the Greek cavalry. Alexander caught up the retreating Mālavas at the ford on the Ravi and inflicted severe loss upon them. Next he followed them to the east of the river where he took, by mining and escalade, a town of the Brāhmaṇas, apparently meaning certain allies or leaders of the Mālava tribe. About 50,000 people were killed in all and 'as they were men of spirit, very few were taken prisoners'.

The Mālavas then recrossed the Ravi and defended the passage with 50,000 men. But they were again defeated and took shelter in the strongest fortified town near about the boundary of the present Jhang and Montgomery Districts. They were besieged by the Greeks in the citadel of the town. When the soldiers were preparing to scale the walls, Alexander leapt upon the wall and then down into the citadel, followed only by three of his men. The brave four defended themselves admirably and Alexander is said to have killed the Governor of the citadel. But the Macedonian king's breast was pierced by an arrow and he fainted. He was saved from death by the timely arrival of his men to his help. The barbed arrow was withdrawn by an operation. The infuriated Greeks then massacred all the unfortunate inmates of the citadel without sparing even women and children. Shortly afterwards, the Mālavas tendered their submission and the Kṣudrakas, grown wiser by the experience of the Mālavas, sent tribute and valuable gifts to Alexander. The tribal envoys, one hundred in number, were dignified men of uncommon stature, who were clad in purple and gold and were riding in chariots. The presents are said to have included 1030 (or 500 according to another account) four-horsed chariots, 1000 bucklers of local manufacture, 100 talents of steel, a great store of linen goods, 300 horsemen and some tortoise shells, skins of large lizards and tame lions and tigers.[16]

The above account of the fourth century B.C., as left by early European writers, speaks eloquently of the greatness and prosperity of the Mālavas and their allies and supplies valuable information about them.

From the Punjab, the Mālavas, or at least a large section of the tribe, migrated to Rajasthan. This movement may have begun during the Indo-Greek occupation of the Punjab, but appears to have continued down to the time of the

Scythian conquest of that country.

The Mālavas of Rajasthan are the earliest Indian people known to have used an era which has been identified with the so-called Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B.C. Some writers think that the Mālavas themselves started the era to commemorate some important event in their history, probably the foundation of their republic in Rajasthan. As, however, will be shown later, the Mālavas appear to have adopted the use of the East Iranian era of 58 B.C. from the Śakas in the Punjab and carried its use to their new home in Rajasthan. The above era used by the Mālavas in Rajasthan gradually came to be known as Kṛta (or *Krita=Krīta*) which is often supposed to have been the name of an illustrious Mālava leader who may have secured the independence of the republic from the yoke of the Kuṣāṇas, sometime about the middle of the second century A.D.[17] As will be shown later, *Kṛta* or *Krīta* may really be the Sanskritised form of a Scytho-Parthian word or name.

The capital of the Mālava republic in Rajasthan was Mālavanagara which is the modern Nagar or Karkotanagar in the Uniyara Tehsil of the old Jaipur State, now in the Tonk District, about 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonk and about 45 miles to the north-north-east of Bundi. An inscription of 987 A.D., found at Nagar, speaks of the prosperity of Mālavanagara and also of a king named Loka who ruled there and was probably a scion of the old Mālava race.[18] The name Karkotanagar, often applied to the city, may suggest that, for a time, it passed to the Nāgas. It is interesting to note that the later Mālava coins resemble in fabric the coins of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī (Padam Pawaya near Narwar in the Shivapuri District of Madhya Pradesh), with whom the Mālavas may have come to be closely connected.[19]

As early as the beginning of the second century A.D., the Mālavas of the Jaipur-Tonk region of Rajasthan are known to have been fighting with their neighbours, the Uttamabhadras of the Ajmer area and the latter's allies, the Kṣaharāta-Śakas of Western India, who were probably feudatories of the Kuṣāṇas of Kaniṣka's house. With the gradual decline of Kuṣāṇa power, the Mālavas appear to have extended their dominions over wide regions of Rajasthan at the expense of the Kārdamaka-Śakas who succeeded the Kṣaharātas. This is suggested by the use of the Kṛta (or Krīta) era in the records of the third and fourth centuries found in the old Bharatpur, Kotah and Udaipur States. As will be presently indicated, according to some inscriptions of 226 A.D. (Kṛta-Krīta 282) found at Nandsa in the old Udaipur State, freedom and prosperity had returned to the Mālava country before that date as a result of the brilliant achievements of the Mālava chief named Nandisoma who belonged to the clan of the Sogins. This may refer to the success of the Mālavas mainly against the Kārdamakas. It is also probable that the Maukharis, known from the Badva inscriptions[20] of 238 A.D. (Kṛta-Kīta 295) acknowledged the supremacy of the Mālava republic and belonged to the Mālava stock like the Sogins. Epigraphic evidence represents the Mukhara or Maukhari princes as descendants of the hundred sons whom king Aśvapati obtained through the grace of Vaivasvata (Yama),[21] while the *Mahābhārata*[22] states how the Madra king Aśvapati obtained one hundred sons called 'the Mālavas' through his queen Mālavī as a result of one of the boons granted by Yama to the king's daughter Sāvitrī married to the Sālva prince Satyavat. It is thus very probable that the Maukharis claimed to have belonged to the Mālava stock. As we shall see later, it was the Maukharis who carried the use of the era of 58 B.C. from Rajasthan to U. P. and probably also to Bihar.

According to the evidence of the Nandsa inscriptions,[23] Nandisoma of the family of the Sogins performed an Ekaṣaṣṭirātra sacrifice and raised the Yūpa bearing his records. He was born in the Mālava-vaṁśa which is stated to have been as famous a family of saintly kings as that of Ikṣvāku. Nandisoma was the son of Jayasoma, grandson of Bhṛguvardhana and great-grandson of Jayatsena. This family of the Sogins belonging to the Mālava stock possibly ruled over parts of the Udaipur region as vassals of the Mālava republic. Their territory is called the Mālava-gaṇa-viṣaya probably indicating a district of the dominions of the Mālava republic. Another inscription at Nandsa speaks of a chief of the Sogin family named Bhaṭṭisoma who seems to have been a successor of Nandisoma. A *viṣay-eśvara* (governor of a district) named *Mahārāja* Jayatsena is known from an inscription of about the fifth century A.D. found in a cave in the Bhilsa region.[24] He may have been a later member of the Sogin family.

The early coins of copper, attributed to the Mālavas, have been discovered in large numbers at Nagar and the neighbouring region.[25] In 1871-73, Carlleyle gathered more than six thousand coins at Nagar, while, at Rairh, also in the old Jaipur State, some Mālava coins were discovered several years ago along with a seal of 'the Mālava-janapada' which reminds us of republics like the Śibi-janapada issuing coins from the city of Madhyamikā (modern Nagarī near Chitodgadh in the old Udaipur State).

Carlleyle and Cunningham assigned the Mālava coins to the period between 250 B.C. and 250 or 350 A.D. But Rapson and Smith thought that the initial date is not earlier than 150 B.C.[26] As regards the later limit, Rapson noticed the similarity between the later coins of the Mālavas and the monetary issues of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī in respect of fabric and proposed for the former a date not earlier than the fifth century A.D. But Smith was inclined to explain the cessation of the Mālava coinage as a result of the Gupta conquest of Northern India in the fourth century A.D. It has, of late, been pointed out that the letter *ma* in the legends of the Mālava coins in question exhibits an 'Early Gupta' form, so that the coins should be assigned to the period between the second century A.D. and the earlier part of the fourth century.[27]

Numismatists have divided the Mālava coins, regarded as 'the most curious and enigmatical' in the whole range of Indian coinages, into three classes, the first of them bearing the legend *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ* (Victory to the Mālavas) or *Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ* (Victory to the Republic of the Mālavas) which reminds us of similar legends on the coins of the Yaudheya and Ārjunāyana republics. These Mālava coins have the vase, lion, bull, king's head, 'fan-tail' peacock and other objects as their reverse design. The bigger among them are in some cases a little above half an inch in diameter and their weight is generally between 10.5 and 40.3 grains. But most of the specimens are small and light, one measuring only .2 inch in diameter and weighing only 2.5 grains.

The two other classes of coins are ascribed to the Mālavas mainly because they were found along with the Mālava coins and resemble the latter in fabric. The coins of the second class, which are generally small and light and are among the smallest coins in the world (one measuring only .2 inch in diameter and weighing 1.7 grains), do not bear any legend while those of the third category have meaningless legends in which the name of the Mālavas cannot be normally traced.[28] In our opinion, the coins of these second and third classes are mere imitations of Mālava coins and are not the genuine monetary issues of the Mālava republic. Among the coins of the first group also, those on which the word *Mālavānāṁ* has been read as *Mālavahna* and the others on which the legend has to be read from right to left appear to us to be similar imitations.[29]

The meaningless legends on the third class of coins ascribed to the Mālavas, which have been regarded as puzzling by the writers on early Indian numismatics, read as follows: *Bhapaṁyana, Gajava, Gojara, Harāya, Jāmaka, Jāmaku, Jamapaya, Magacha, Magaja, Magajava, Majupa, Mapaka, Mapaya, Mapajaya, Maraja, Masapa, Pacha, Paya, Yama,* etc. Smith suggested that these are the names of certain foreign rulers who issued the coins in question. But Allan rightly pointed out that not only are the coins too late for the Śakas, and too early for the Hūṇas, none of the names (?) has any resemblance to a Śaka or Hūṇa name. Some scholars regard them as names of some scions of the Mālava clan.

There are a few points for consideration in this connection. In the first place, while it is difficult to believe that certain Mālava chiefs issued coins at the same time for circulation in the same area in addition to the monetary issues of the Mālava republic, it is even more difficult to accommodate so many rulers using the 'Early Gupta' form of *ma* in the period before or after the age covered by the genuine issues of the Mālavas. Secondly, the well-known history of the gradual Indianisation of the foreigners during the early centuries of the Christian era, as indicated, among other evidences, by their adoption of Indian names within a few generations, makes it very difficult to believe that so many foreign rulers could have successively resisted the Indianisation of their names. Thirdly, since the Mālavas are actually known to have been an indigenous Indian tribe, it is not easy to explain such an intimate relation between their republic and a group of foreign chiefs so that both issued coins at the same time for circulation in the same region.

Jayaswal noticed that many of the legends begin with *ma* and suggested that it is a contraction of the title *Mahārāja*. But, as rightly pointed out by Allan, even if *ma* is taken to stand for *Mahārāja*, the remaining letters of the legends do not offer any intelligible or satisfactory name.[30]

Allan's own explanation of the meaningless legends is that they are not names, but futile attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ* found on the first group of Mālava coins referred to above. This is certainly the correct approach to the problem since it satisfactorily accounts not only for the absence of the genitive case-ending in the legends, but also for so many of the legends beginning with *ma*, for the frequency of *ma* as another letter in them, and for the limited number of consonants forming the legends. Allan, however, failed to note that, considering the large number of coins bearing the puzzling legends, it is extremely difficult to regard them as the genuine monetary issues of the Mālava republic. On the other hand, the meaninglessness of the legends is, no doubt, easily explained if the coins are regarded as imitations of the Mālava money. Of course, there is ample evidence to show that, in ancient and medieval India, minting of coins was largely in the hands of goldsmiths, so that some of the coins with meaningless legends may be supposed to have been issued by inefficient goldsmiths side by side with the regular Mālava coins minted by others. It is, however, difficult to explain in that case how the circulation of the two types of coins at the same time and in the same area should have been allowed by the Mālava republic over a fairly long period of time. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that, when the Mālavas were no longer in a position to issue their own coins after their subordination by the Guptas, for sometime, local goldsmiths minted the imitation coins in order to meet the requirements of the people of the area in question, who were used to the Mālava coinage. The rôle of local conservatism in Indian numismatics has often been emphasised and we have actually copper coins imitated from the Mālava types, which were issued by the Imperial Guptas and later chiefs of the Malwa region such as Rāmagupta.[31]

III

THE MĀLAVAS IN MALWA

There was probably a long drawn struggle between the Mālavas using the Kṛta (or Krīta) era of 58 B.C. and the Kārdamaka-Śakas using the Śaka era of 78 A.D. in the third and fourth centuries A.D. But both the powers had soon to submit to the Guptas. The Allahabad pillar inscription[32] mentions the Mālavas and the neighbouring republican peoples as feudatories or subordinate allies of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (*circa* 335-76 A.D.), while the Śakas were temporarily subjugated by that monarch and totally extirpated by his son Candragupta II (376-413 A.D.) about the close of the fourth century A.D.[33]

After the extinction of the Śakas, the Aulikaras, apparently a Mālava dynasty like the Sogins and Maukharis, flourished at Daśapura (modern Mandasor in West Malwa, formerly in the dominions of the Kārdamaka-Śakas) under the vassalage of the Gupta emperors. It has to be noted that the Aulikara kings, even when they were subordinate to the Gupta emperors, used the Kṛta-Krīta era (then also called the era of the Mālava people or the Mālava republic) in preference to the era of the Guptas starting from 319 A.D. The favour shown to the Mālava family of the Aulikaras and to the Kṛta-Krīta or Mālava era in contradistinction to the attempt of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and probably also of his father, Samudragupta Parākramāṅka, to extirpate both the Śakas and their era might have contributed to the growth of the Śakāri Vikramāditya saga attributing the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. to *Rājā* Vikrama.

On the basis of these facts, it may be conjectured that it was the Aulikaras who were responsible for the name Mālava being applied to a wide region of Central and Western India including the old territory of Avanti (district round Ujjayinī) and Ākara or Daśārṇa (district round Vidiśā). But it is rendered doubtful by the fact that Bāṇa's *Kādambarī,* as we have seen, mentions West Malwa as Avanti and only Tast Malwa as Mālava while his *Harṣacarita* mentions Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, sons of the 'Later Gupta' king Mahāsenagupta of East Malwa as *Mālavarājaputra* and the usurper of Mahāsenagupta's throne (*i.e.,* king Devagupta known from Harṣa's records) as *Mālavarāja.*[34] The application of the name Mālava to Avanti or the Ujjayinī region does not seem to have been quite popular before the Paramāra occupation of that area in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. As will be shown later, the early Paramāras, who ruled over the Mālava country near the Mahī river, were known as 'the Mālavas'. The use of the name Malava in the sense of the ancient *janapada* of Ākara or Daśārṇa in the present East Malwa may, however, have been popularised by the so-called 'Later Guptas' who appear to have represented another Mālava family like the Aulikaras of West Malwa.

The Aulikara inscriptions[35] have been discovered at

Mandasor (ancient Daśapura which was apparently the Aulikara capital) and its neighbourhood. The first known member of the family was Jayavarman whose son and successor was Siṁhavarman. The family rose to fame under Jayavarman's grandson Naravarman whose inscriptions are dated in the year 461 (404 A.D.) and 474 (417 A.D.) of the Kṛta-Krīta or Mālava era. His epithet *Siṁhavikrānta-gāmin* refers, according to some scholars, to his subordinate status under Candragupta II, one of whose titles was *Siṁha-vikrama* which is the same as *Siṁhavikrānta*.[36] The family thus came to prominence under Gupta patronage. Naravarman was succeeded by Viśvavarman known from an inscription of the year 480 (423 A.D.) while Viśvavarman's son and successor was Bandhuvarman who is known to have been ruling at Daśapura in the year 493 (436 A.D.) as a vassal of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (413-55 A.D.), son and successor of Candragupta II. The next Aulikara king is Prabhākara known from an inscription of the year 524 (467 A.D.), although his relations with Bandhuvarman are not specified in it. This record seems also to suggest that the Aulikara kingdom once formed a part of the territories governed by Govindagupta, a son of Candragupta II, probably with his headquarters at Ujjayinī.

A later ruler, apparently of the Aulikara family and ruling from Daśapura (Mandasor), was Ādityavardhana whose subordinate Gauri is known from an epigraph dated in the year 547 (491 A.D.).[37] The king of Avanti (*Āvantika nṛpa*) named Dravyavardhana, whose work was utilised by Varāhamihira in writing a section of his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* seems also to have been an Aulikara ruler,[38] though it is not possible to say whether he was a predecessor or successor of Ādityavardhana. In any case, these Aulikara kings probably ruled in West Malwa before the expansion of Hūṇa power in that region. It appears that the Hūṇas were, about this time, already in occupation of East Malwa whence they may have succeeded in extending their power towards the west.

The latest known king of the Aulikara family is Yaśodharman, surnamed Viṣṇuvardhana, whose known date is the year 589 (532 A.D.).[39] Yaśodharman was an independent monarch as he is known to have assumed the imperial style *Rājādhirāja-Parameśvara* while his claim to imperial status is also indicated by the conventional boast of subduing the whole earth (*i.e.*, the *cakravarti-kṣetra*) bounded by the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra), Mahendra (Mahendragiri in the Tirunelveli District of Madras), the Himalayas and the Western Sea (Arabian Sea). He claimed to have ruled over wider territories than previously held by the Guptas and the Hūṇas. This claim indirectly points to the overthrow of Gupta sovereignty in Malwa by the Hūṇas. Indeed this is also proved by the Eran (Saugor District) inscription (*circa* 500 A.D.) of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa and the Gwalior inscription of his son Mihirakula.[40] Yaśodharman seems to have compelled Mihirakula to confine himself to his Himalayan possessions, probably comprising Kashmir which was included in the latter's empire according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[41]

Nothing is known about the Aulikaras after Yaśodharman. It is difficult to say whether the family was ousted for a short time by the line of kings of East Malwa, who are generally called 'the Later Guptas'. But, as we shall presently see, West Malwa was in the possession of the Kalacuris in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. and they extended their sway over East Malwa soon afterwards.

The first known member of the so-called 'Later Gupta' line, which established itself in East Malwa after the Hūṇa occupation of that territory, is Kṛṣṇagupta whose son was Harṣagupta.[42] The next king Jīvitagupta I, son of Harṣagupta, is said to have subdued his enemies in the whole land to the south of the Himalayas and to the north of the sea shores (*i.e.*, the *cakravarti-kṣetra*). The above conventional claim seems to suggest that Jīvitagupta was the first independent ruler of the family which had formerly owed allegiance probably to the Imperial Guptas and the Hūṇas. His son and successor Kumāragupta defeated the Maukhari king

Iśānavarman who also threw off the yoke of the Imperial Guptas and was ruling in U.P. and Bihar in 554 A.D. Kumāragupta succeeded in advancing as far as Prayāga (Allahabad) in the east in course of the struggle with the Maukharis and committed religious suicide there. But his son Dāmodaragupta apparently died in an encounter with the Maukhari, *i.e.*, Īśānavarman, whose army is stated to have become famous for its victory over the Hūṇas.[43] This probably led to an expansion of Maukhari power towards Malwa. Bundelkhand formed a part of the Maukhari empire during the rule of Īśānavarman's son Śarvavarman.[44] Dāmodaragupta's son Mahāsenagupta seems to have formed an alliance with the Gauḍas of Bengal, reputed enemies of the Maukharis who in their turn appear to have been allied with the kings of Kāmarūpa in Assam. Mahāsenagupta claims a victory over Susthitavarman, no doubt, the Kāmarūpa king of that name, on the banks of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. This seems to suggest that the 'Later Gupta' and Gauḍa monarchs jointly led attacks against both their enemies, viz. the Maukhari and Kāmarūpa kings. The Dubi copper-plate inscription[45] of king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa apparently refers to a later phase of the same struggle when it says how, shortly after Susthitavarman's death, the Gauḍas invaded the latter's territory and defeated and captured his young sons Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman who were carried away captive, but were later released, no doubt, as a result of their offering allegiance to the Gauḍa king.

Mahāsenagupta's throne seems, however, to have been soon occupied by Devagupta when the former's sons Kamāragupta and Mādhavagupta were compelled to take shelter at the court of the Puṣyabhūti king Prabhākaravardhana of Thanesar, who was probably Mahāsena's sister's son.[46] Prabhākaravardhana now formed an alliance with Maukhari Avantivarman, son of Śarvavarman, against Devagupta and gave his daughter in marriage to Avantivarman's son Grahavarman. Devagupta continued the Gauḍa alliance and, jointly with the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka, led an invasion against the Maukhari kingdom about 605 A.D. when Grahavarman was on the throne. Grahavarman was defeated and killed and the major part of the Maukhari dominions in U.P. and Bihar was occupied by the armies of Devagupta and Śaśāṅka. King Rājyavardhana of Thanesar, son and successor of Prabhākavardhana, hastened to the help of the Maukharis, but was killed by Śaśāṅka even though he had succeeded in crushing the Mālava army under Devagupta.[47] Harṣavardhana, who was the younger brother of Rājyavardhana and succeeded the latter on the throne of Thanesar in 606 A.D., now took the field on behalf of the Maukharis against Devagupta and Śaśāṅka. He ultimately succeeded in driving out the enemies of the Maukharis from U.P. and Bihar and became the master of the former Maukhari kingdom. It is interesting to note that the erstwhile Maukhari possessions were not given back to a Maukhari prince, but were annexed to Harṣa's empire, though certain Maukhari princes appear to have been ruling as vassals of Harṣa.[48]

King Harṣa seems to have made the 'Later Gupta' prince Mādhavagupta his viceroy over parts of Bihar where Mādhavagupta's son Ādityasena carved out a powerful kingdom after Harṣa's death.[49]

The Deobaranark inscription shows that the Shahabad region of Bihar, now ruled by the descendants of Mādhavagupta, was previously under the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman,[50] though the Rohtasgadh seal-matrix[51] proves that, shortly after them, it was being ruled by Śaśāṅka as a *Mahāsāmanta* apparently of the Gauḍa monarch who preceded him on the throne of Karṇasuvarṇa. When Devagupta was engaged in struggle first with the Maukharis and then with the Puṣyabhūtis, the Kalacuris of the Narmadā valley were in the possession of Northern Maharashtra in the south and West Malwa in the north. It is well known how the Kalacuri king Buddharāja lost the southern districts of his kingdom to the Cālukya king Maṅgaleśa (598-610 A.D.) of Bādāmi. But the Abhona plates (595 A.D.) of his father Śaṅkaragaṇa were issued from Ujjayinī, while the Vadner plates (608 A.D.) of Buddharāja himself were issued from Vaidiśa or Vidiśā.[52] By 608 A.D., therefore, both Western and Eastern Malwa passed to the Kalacuris. It appears that soon afterwards, Harṣa succeeded in subduing these Kalacuris who are found to have risen again to power in Eastern M.P. a few centuries later. But a grant of Maitraka Kharagraha I issued from Ujjayinī in the Valabhī year 297 (616-17 A.D.) points to his contribution to the decline of Kalacuri power in Western Malwa.[53]

As we have seen, the earliest evidence regarding the application of the name Mālava to the eastern part of the present Malwa tract can be traced in the *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, composed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., while Hiuen-tsang's accounts and probably also the Aihole inscription of the same period apply the name to a tract of land in Gujarat. The *Harṣacarita* represents Prabhākaravardhana as an enemy of the Mālavas.[54] This seems to refer to the Puṣyabhūti king's hostile relation with Devagupta who seems to be mentioned as *Mālavarāja* in the same work.[55] We have also suggested the possibility that the so-called 'Later Guptas' of East Malwa, the Aulikaras of West Malwa and the Paramāras who occupied Malwa in the tenth century may have been all Mālava by nationality. Unless such was the case, it is difficult to explain the popularity of the name Mālava for the entire Avanti-Ākara (Daśārṇa) region in the early medieval period.[56] We shall see later that, in the eighth century A.D., the Kṛta-Krīta or Mālava era began to be associated with king Vikramāditya of Indian legend and folklore and the developed form of this tradition often represents Vikrama as the lord of Mālava with Ujjayinī as his capital. The name Mālava to indicate the country around Ujjayinī in the ancient Avanti-janapada became popular during this age.

In connection with the popularity of the name Mālava as applied to the modern Malwa tract, passing reference has been made to the occupation of the country by the Paramāras. The Paramāra king Vākpati II Muñja is known to have made Ujjayinī his residence as early as 975 A.D. which is the date of his Dharampuri plates.[57] Paramāra Vākpati I, great-grandfather of Muñja, claimed descent apparently through his mother, from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa II, *circa* 879-913 A.D., or III, *circa* 939-68 A.D.), son of Amoghavarṣa (I or III), and was undoubtedly a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch.[58] Vākpati I and his immediate successors were governors of the Kheṭaka (modern Kaira) region of Gujarat.[59] We have seen that this very area was called Mālava by the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang. Harṣa Sīyaka, grandson of Vākapati I and father of Vākpati II Muñja, claims to have defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga (968-73 A.D.) younger brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III, and the same fact is apparently referred to by Dhanapāla in his *Pāiyalacchī* (972-73 A.D.) when he speaks of the plundering of Mānyakheṭa (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital) by the Mālavas or the people of Mālava.[60] The same event is further mentioned in the Arthuna inscription[61] (1080 A.D.) which speaks of Harṣa as the king of Mālava or of the Mālavas. It is, of course, not known whether the Paramāra power extended to the present Malwa tract before the days of Vākpati II, son of Harṣa Sīyaka. Thus Harṣa's mention as the Mālava king may be due to his kingdom covering that part of Gujarat, which has been called Mālava by Hiuen-tsang, or his being a scion of a Mālava family. Whatever that may be, it is during the rule of these Paramāras that Mālava came to be the most popular name of the ancient Avanti-Ākara-(Daśārṇa) region. The Paramāra king Sindhurāja *alias* Nava-Sāhasāṅka (997-1000 A.D.), son of Harṣa and younger brother of Vākpati II Muñja, assumed a name of the traditional Śakāri Vikramāditya of Mālava, and his son Bhoja (1000-53 A.D.) contributed considerably to the popularisation and growth of the Vikramāditya saga.

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[1] This is the anglicised spelling of the modern form of the name written in Nāgarī as *Mālavā* (or *Mālvā*) and pronounced as *Mālvā*.

[2] Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 34 (note 2), 35 (note 5), etc. The name Avanti or Avantī is derived from

that of the Avanti people said to be the descendants of Avanti, the son of Kārtavīrya Arjuna of the Yadava-Haihaya clan.

[3] This Agency or collection of Native States, of which the political relations with the Government of India were under the charge of the Governor General's Agent for Central India, included eight subordinate Agencies, viz. Indore, Gwalior, Bhopal, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Bhil, Western Malwa and Guna. What was called 'Western Malwa' comprised the Jaora, Ratlam, Sillana and Sitamau States.

[4] The *'Ain-i-Akbarī* has the following on the extent of Malwa: "Its length from the extreme point of Garha (Mandla) to Banswarah is 245 *Kos*. Its breadth from Chanderi to Nandurbar is 230 *Kos*. To the east lies Bandhun (Rewa); to the north Narwar; to the south Baglanah; to the west Gujarat and Ajmer" (trans. Jarrett and Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 206).

[5] See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 242, 245-47.

[6] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1346-47.

[7] Cf. *majjan-Mālava-vilāsinī-kuca--taṭ-āsphālana–jarjarit-ormi-mālayā......Vetravatyā parigatā Vidiś-ābhidhānā nagarī rājadhāny = āsīt* (Siddhāntavāgīśa's ed., p. 19); *Siprayā parikṣiptā vijit-āmaraloka-dyutir = Avantiṣ = Ūjjayinī nāma nagarī* (*ibid.*, p. 183).

[8] Mālava, subjugated by Pulakeśin II (610-42 A.D.) along with Lāṭa and Gurjara according to the Aihole inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6, verse 22: *pratāp-opanatā yasya Lāṭa-Mālava-Gūrjarāḥ*), was apparently the first of the two. The early Paramāras ruling over the same tract are known to have been called Mālava (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 848-51). The *Kādambarī* tradition is again echoed in the *Jayamaṅgalā* commentary (thirteenth century A.D.) on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (VI. 5. 22 and 24; cf. *Āvantikā Ujjayinī-deśa-bhavāḥ/tā ev = Āpara-Mālavyaḥ ..... Mālavya iti Pūrva-Mālava-bhavāḥ*) and in the late medieval work entitled *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* (cf. my *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 91-92). The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (G.O.S., p. 9) mentions Avanti, Vaidiśa and Mālava separately. Muslim writers of the early medieval period likewise distinguish between Uzain (Ujjayinī) and Al-Malibah (Mālava). See my *Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, p. 28, note 4.

[9] Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 350.

[10] Cf. *Malavaramārin* (slayer of the Malavas or the people

of the Ghat country) in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 569.

[11] See Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* 1938, p. 492.

[12] See Risley, *The People of India,* pp. 12-13.

[13] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.,* p. 206.

[14] VI. 59. 135

[15] The *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV. 2.45) gives *Kṣudraka-Mālava* as an example of the *Dvandva* compound and refers to Āpiśali as speaking of *Kṣudaraka-Mālavī [senā]*. On Pāṇini, V. 3. 114, it mentions the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas as *āyudhajīvi-saṅgha* or association of warriors.

[16] For the Mālavas' struggle with Alexander, see Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 98-102.

[17] For the different views on the explanation of *Kṛta,* cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity,* p. 157, note 1 (for references); Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy,* pp. 255 ff.

[18] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 79, note.

[19] See Smith's *Catalogue of Coins,* pp. 162, 164.

[20] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 92 ff.

[21] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 115, verse 3: *Suta-śataṁ lebhe nṛpo = 'śvapatir = Vaivasvatād = yad = guṇ - oditam | tat-prasūtā durita-vṛtti-rudho Mukharāḥ kṣitīśāḥ kṣat-ārayaḥ.*

[22] III. 296. 59-60: *Pituś = ca te putra - śataṁ bhavitā tava mātari | Mālavyāṁ Mālavā nāma śaśvatāḥ putra - pautriṇaḥ || bhrātaras = te bhaviṣyanti kṣatriyās = tridaś - opamāḥ |* Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I., pp. 298 ff. The tradition further suggests that the Mālavas represented a branch of the Madra people of the Sialkot region. The Nandsa inscriptions represent the Mālava-vaṁśa as *Ikṣvāku-prathita-rājarṣi-vaṁśa, i.e.,* as famous as the royal stock of the Ikṣvākus (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 257, 263, 285).

[23] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 252 ff.; *IHQ,* Vol. XXIX, pp. 80. ff

[24] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 117, note.

[25] Allan's *Catalogue of Coins* (Ancient India), pp. civ. ff.; Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 169 ff.

[26] Cf. Smith, *loc. cit.*

[27] Allan, *loc. cit.*

[28] The two-line legend read as (1) *Malavā* (2) *Majupa,* both from right to left (Smith's *Catalogue*, p. 175, No. 70), connects the coins of the third category with the Mālavas.

[29] For a discussion on these questions, see my paper in *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1 ff.

[30] Cf. Allan, *loc. cit.*

[31] See *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, *loc. cit.*

[32] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 254 ff.

[33] The absence of the coins of Śaka Rudrasena III for the period 351-64 A.D. seems to be due to his temporary subjugation by Samudragupta, while Candragupta apparently appointed his son Govindagupta as his viceroy at Ujjayinī after the annexation of the Śaka kingdom of Western India. See Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxlv; also Sircar in *Proc. IHC*, 1944, pp. 78 ff.

[34] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 295-96 and notes.

[35] For the Aulikara inscriptions, see *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 280 ff., 377 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 131; XXVII, pp. 12 ff.; Vol XXX, pp. 127 ff.

[36] Raychaudhuri, *PAHI*, p. 468 and note.

[37] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 205 ff.

[38] Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 205 ff.

[39] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 386 ff.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 396-97, 400 ff.

[41] I. 289 ff.

[42] For the history of this family, see the Aphsad inscription in *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff.

[43] The Maukhari king's forces probably fought on the side of his overlord Bālāditya against Mihirakula.

[44] See the Barah copper-plate inscription of the Pratīhāras in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.

[45] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff.

[46] The name of Prabhākara's mother was Mahāsenaguptā.

[47] According to the *Harṣacarita*, its commentary, and Hiuen-tsang's accounts, Rājyavardhana was treacherously murdered. Such political murders are well known; cf. Alīvardī Khān killing the Marāṭhā general Bhāskar Paṇḍit.

[48] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 245-46.

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[49] The Aphsad inscription (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 204, text line 15) speaks of Mādhavagupta's desire to meet (or associate himself with) Harṣa. The *Harṣacarita* (ed. Parab, p. 91) refers to the installation of Kumāra (i.e. Mādhavagupta's elder brother Kumāragupta) by Harṣa either as his viceroy of a province of his empire or as a pretender to the throne of Mālava. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 296, note 5.

[50] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 216, text lines 16-16; cf. pp. 183-84.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[52] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff.

[53] Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*,

Vol. I, pp. 7ff. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* vaguely suggests Śītāditya-Dharmāditya's occupation of the Ujjayinī region.

[54] Ed. Parab. p. 120 (*Mālava-lakṣmī-latā-paraśu*).

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 138, 183.

[56] It is difficult to say whether the Kalacuris also claimed connection with the Mālavas and contributed to the popularisation of the name Mālava to indicate the ancient Avanti country. The later Kalacuris call themselves Haihayas, i.e., descendants of Haihaya of the Yadu clan, and claimed Kṛtavīrya's son Arjuna as their ancestor. Avanti, after whom Ujjayinī and the country around it were named, was one of the sons of Arjuna. See *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. CLIII. Thus the Kalacuris claimed Yādava lineage though they are often supposed to have been foreigners entering India in the company of the Hūṇas. As regards the application of the name Mālava to West Malwa during the early medieval period, see also my paper in *Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-5.

[57] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.

[58] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.

[59] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 850.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 850-51.

[61] *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff.

LECTURE II

MALWA UNDER THE PRADYOTAS

I

AVANTI IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

Throughout the ages, innumerable principalities—great, medium and small—flourished in all parts of Bhāratavarṣa. Some of the numerous states—monarchical, oligarcic and republican—that existed in different parts of the country about the middle of the sixth century B.C. are incidentally referred to in ancient Indian literature. Literary tradition points to the growth of a convention to regard sixteen out of the many states as *Mahā-janapadas* or 'Great States'. There are a few lists of such Great States, the earliest of which is found in the Buddhist canonical work *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and is believed to reflect the political condition of India as prevailed in the Buddha's age, *i.e.*, the sixth century B.C.[1] The kingdom of Avanti finds mention in the above list.

The name of the Avanti kingdom was derived from that of the Avanti branch of the Haihaya clan of the celebrated Yadu or Yādava tribe. The city of Ujjayinī, capital of Avanti, standing on the Siprā in the old Gwalior State (West Malwa), now in Madhya Pradesh, appears to have been founded by the Avantis, and was sometimes called Avanti[2] or 'the Avanti city' or 'the city of the Avantis'. The rule of the Avanti country with Ujjayinī as its capital later passed to the Vītihotras who represented another branch of the Haihaya clan and are sometimes supposed to have been actually a subsection of the Avantis.[3] A later list of the *Mahā-janapadas* found in the *Mahāvastu* (I. 34) mentions Avanti (West Malwa) and Daśārṇa (East Malwa) as separate States.

The small kingdom of Avanti soon began to expand in different directions. Towards the south, for a time, it extended beyond the Vindhyas and embraced the settlement of the Haihayas in the valley of the river Narmadā in the district round the ancient city of Māhiṣmatī, identified by some with modern Māndhātā in the Nimar District (West) of Madhya Pradesh and by others with Maheswar in the old Indore State now merged in Madhya Pradesh. This southern part of Avanti seems to have been mentioned in early Buddhist literature as Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha, *i.e.*, the Daksiṇāpatha portion of the Avanti country.[4] The fact seems to point to the subjugation of the Haihayas of Māhiṣmatī by the Vītihotras of Avanti.

The *Mahābhārata*[5] seems to refer to two Avanti princes ruling in the Narmadā valley. The *Mahāgovindu Suttanta*[6] speaks of Māhiṣmatī as the capital of the Avanti king Viśvabhū who may have been a Vītihotra. This would suggest that, for a time, the capital of Avanti was transferred from Ujjayinī to Māhiṣmatī and that this fact led to the mention of Avanti along with the countries of Dakṣiṇāpatha in some early Buddhist works.[7] It may also be suggested that the country was divided for a time in two halves, the northern half having its capital at Ujjayinī and the southern part being ruled from the city of Māhiṣmatī.

As regards Avanti's expansion towards the east, a Jain tradition includes within its boundaries the locality called Tumbavana which is modern Tumain in the Guna District of the old Gwalior State, about 50 miles to the north-west of Earn in the Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh.[8] This would suggest the inclusion of considerable parts of modern East Malwa in the ancient state of Avanti.

After describing the genealogies of the Purus (*i.e.*, the Kurus), Ikṣvākus, Bṛhadrathas, Pradyotas and Śiśunāgas, who flourished in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. and earlier, the Purāṇas say that contemporaneously with the aforesaid kings there 'will be' other kings such as the (1) 24 Ikṣvākus, (2) 27 Pañcālas, (3) 24 Kāśis, (4) 28 Haihayas, (5) 32 Kaliṅgas, (6) 25 Aśmakas, (7) 36 Kurus (Purus), (8) 28 Maithilas (*i.e.*, Videhas), (9) 23 Sūrasenas and (10) 20 Vītihotras.[9] The Haihayas and Vītimotras, both mentioned in the above list of contemporary powers, ruled originally side by side, as we have suggested above, respectively at Māhiṣmatī and Ujjayinī till the former were subjugated by the latter sometime before the middle of the sixth century B.C. It will be seen from our discussion below that, shortly afterwards, the Vītihotras were themselves subjugated by the Pradyotas. About the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, Avanti became one of the most important powers in India under the vigorous rule of Pradyota; but, about the close of the fifth century B.C. the last king of Pradyota's house was subjugated by the king of Magadha, and for centuries to come, Avanti became a province of the Magadha empire.

II

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRADYOTAS OF AVANTI

The slightly later compilations of the historical sections in the Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* clearly say that Purañjaya or Ripuñjaya, the last ruler of the Bṛhadratha dynasty of Magadha, was killed by his *Amātya* (minister or governor) named Sunika, (Sunaka, Śunika, etc.) who placed his own son Pradyota on the throne of the Magadha country.[10] The correct form of the name as suggested by the *Harṣacarita* is, however, *Puṇaka* (or *Puṇika*), as we shall see below. There is, moreover, no doubt that the representation of Pradyota as a king of Magadha, adopted later also in such works as the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[11] and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*,[12] is due to a misunderstanding of the original Puranic text.

This original text, suggested by the variant readings found in different manuscripts of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇās*,[13] seems to give the following information on the dynasty represented by Pradyota, son of Pulika (Fulaka, etc.): "When the Bṛhadrathas [of Magadha] will have passed away and the Vītihotras will be flourishing in Avanti,[14] Pulika (i.e. Sunika, Sunaka, etc.) will kill his master and anoint his own son Pradyota by force in the very sight of the Kṣatriyas. He (Pradyota) will indeed have the neighbouring kings subject to him and be destitute of good policy. He, an excellent man, will be king 23 years. Pālaka (son of Pradyota according to the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*) will then be king 24 (*v.l.* 28) years. Viśākhayūpa (son of Pālaka according to the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*) 90 (*v.l.* 53) years. Ajaka (*v.l.* Sūryaka, apparently a mistake for *Āryaka* of which *Ajaka* = *Ajjaka* is a Prakrit corruption) will have the kingdom for 21 (*v.l.* 23 or 31) years. His son Nandivardhana (*v.l.* Vartivardhana, probably a mistake for *Avantivardhana*) will be king 20 (*v.l.* 30) years. These five kings, the Pradyotas, will endure for 138 years. Śiśunāga [of Magadha] will destroy all their prestige and will be [king]."

As regards the passage *Vītihotreṣv* = *Avantiṣu* which we have taken to indicate 'when the Vītihotras would rule the Avanti country', it may be pointed out that the intended reading may be *Vītihotram* = *Avantiṣu* which would suggest that the assassinated master of Pradyota's father was a king of the Vītihotra family or clan ruling over the Avanti country.[15] Indeed, this is also the implication of the Puranic text as reconstructed by Pargiter, although he understood it differently.[16]

A question may, however, be asked why the Purāṇas describe the rulers of the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti in connection with the history of Magadha. The reason is not far to seek. The Haryaṅka family represented by Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, as we shall see below, succeeded the Bṛhadrathas in Magadha and was supplanted by Śiśunāga. The Haryaṅka rulers Bimbisāra and his five successors according to Buddhist tradition) of Magadha ruled apparently more or less contemporaneously with the five Pradyotas of Avanti. Although therefore Śiśunāga flourished more than a century after the end of Bṛhadratha rule, the Purāṇas, owing to a confusion, make Bimbisāra of the Haryaṅka family the fifth descendant and successor of Śiśunāga. The bringing in of the Pradyotas of Avanti is, no doubt, partly due to a desire to fill up the gap between the Bṛhadrathas and Śiśunāgas of Magadha caused by the unfortunate displacement of the Haryaṅkas. The Puranic confusion is again partly the result of the fact that Śiśunāga not only uprooted the Haryaṅka house of Magadha but also the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti. This is apparently the reason why the Pradyotas have been substituted for the Haryaṅkas in the Puranic account of the Magadha kings between the Bṛhadrathas and the Śiśunāgas. It is well known that the Andhras or Sātavāhanas, who probably extirpated Kāṇva rule from the Malwa region, have been similarly represented as rulers of Magadha which does not appear to have formed part of the dominions either of the Kāṇvas or of the Andhras.

It is now generally believed that the Buddhist traditions regarding the Bimbisārian and Saiśunāga dynasties of Magadha, as recorded in the Ceylonese Chronicles, are more reliable than the Puranic accounts relating to them.[17] These Buddhist traditions ascribe the reigns of Bimbisāra and his five successors to the perior *circa* 546-414 B.C. and the rule of Śiśunāga, who overthrew the last of the Bimbisārians, to *circa* 414-396 B.C. The reign period of 138 years ascribed by the Purāṇas to the five Pradyota kings of Avanti, who were contemporaries of the five Bimbisārians of Magadha, thus appears to have fallen approximately in the period *circa* 546-396 B.C.

The synchronism of the Pradyotas and Bimbisārians is supported by other traditions. The Buddhist *Mahāvagga*[18] makes king Pradyota (often called Caṇḍa-Pradyota in the Buddhist literature) of Avanti a contemporary of the Magadhan ruler Bimbisāra, while, according to a Jain legend[19]

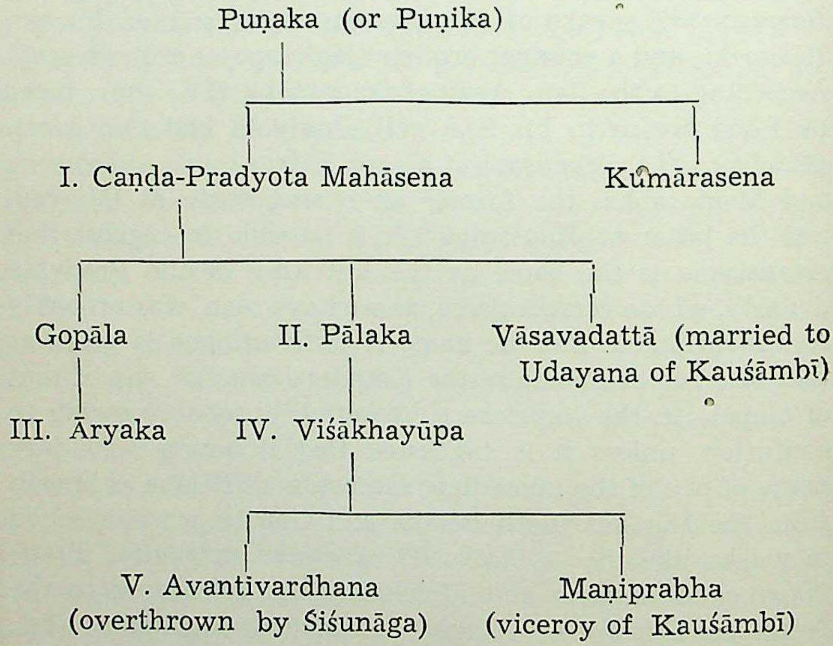
Pradyota went forth to attack Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, during Bimbisāra's lifetime. Pradyota is said to have been defeated in a war with king Puṣkarasārin (Pukkusāti) of Takṣaśilā (Gandhāra), who is represented as having sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha.[20] Bimbisāra (*circa* 546-494 B.C.), his son Ajātaśatru (*circa* 494-462 B.C.) and his contemporaries, viz. Udayana of Kauśāmbī and Prasenajit of Kosala, are often mentioned in early Buddhist literature as living during the lifetime of the Buddha (*circa* 566-486 B.C.).[21] That king Pradyota of Avanti was a contemporary also of Bimbisāra's son and successor Ajātaśatru seems clear from the *Majjhimanikāya*,[22] according to which Ajātaśatru was once fortifying his capital city of Rājagṛha for fear of an attack of Pradyota.

According to Tibetan Buddhist legends,[23] Pradyota, son of king Anantanemi of Ujjayinī, was born at the same time as the Buddha himself, the same date being also given for the birth of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī, of Prasenajit of Kosala and of Bimbisāra of Magadha. The tradition can, however, hardly be regarded as strictly historical. Similar in nature is the Jain legend recorded in the *Therāvalī*[24] and *Vicāraśreṇi*[25] by Merutuṅga, according to which the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism and a contemporary of the Buddha, synchronised with the death of Pradyota and the accession of his son and successor Pālaka. But these traditions at least prove that king Pradyota of Avanti was a contemporary of the Buddha and Mahāvīra and flourished about the close of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

Some legends that later developed round the names of Pradyota and Udayana appear to be doubtful as sources of history. The *Svapnavāsavadatta*, attributed to Bhāsa, makes Padmāvatī, queen of Udayana, a sister of the Saiśunāga king Darśaka (Nāgadāsaka of the Ceylonese chronicles, who ruled in *circa* 446-438 B.C.) of Magadha, while the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* make the same Padmāvatī a daughter of king Pradyota of Magadha. On the other hand, Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the *Dhammapada*[26] gives the story of the union of Vāsavadattā, daughter of king Pradyota of Avanti, with king Udayana of Kauśāmbī. The same Vāsavadattā-Udayana story is found also in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛthatkathāmañjarī*. In the former work (XI, 31-34), Vāsavadattā's father is king Mahāsena or Caṇḍa-Mahāsena (actually a secondary name of Pradyota[27] of Avanti, but distinguished from him through confusion) of Ujjayanī represented as the son of Jayasena and grandson of Mahendravarman.

As regards the genealogy of the Pradyota family, we have seen that, according to the Purāṇas supported by the *Harṣacarita*, Pradyota's father was a person of non-monarchical rank called by the name Puṇaka (or Puṇika), while a Tibetan tradition calls him Anantanemi and makes him a king of Ujjayinī. Considering the late date of the Tibetan tradition, its authenticity may reasonably be doubted. The *Harṣacarita*[28] speaks of Kumārasena as a son of Puṇaka (*Pauṇaki*) and a younger brother (*jaghanyaja*) of Pradyota[29]. According to the Jain *Āvaśyakakathānaka* (IV) reproduced by Bhadreśvara in his *Kahāvali*, Pradyota had two great-grandsons (*i.e.*, grandsons of his son Pālaka), viz. Avantisena and Maṇiprabha, the former exercising sway at Ujjayanī and the latter at Kauśāmbī.[30] It is possible to suggest that Avantisena is the same as the last king of the Pradyota dynasty, whose correct name, as we have seen, was probably Avantivardhana. But the name Avantivardhana is given as that of a son of Pālaka in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[31] and of that of Gopāla in the Nepalese *Bṛhatkathā*,[32] probably owing to confusion, unless it is suggested that it was a secondary name of one of the immediate successors of Pālaka as known from the Purāṇas. Both Pālaka and Gopāla are mentioned in works like the *Bṛhatkathā*, *Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and *Mṛcchakaṭika*. According to the Nepalese *Bṛhatkathā*, Gopāla succeeded Mahāsena (*i.e.*, Pradyota), but abdicated in favour of his brother Pālaka, while Pālaka, in his turn, later renounced the throne in favour of Gopāla's son Avantivardhana. The *Kathāsarit*-

sāgara[33] says that, after having abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother Pālaka, Gopāla lived at the court of his brother-in-law at Kauśāmbī and, after Udayana's death, gave the Kauśāmbī throne to Pālaka and repaired to the Asitagiri to live the life of a recluse.[34] A few manuscripts of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* possibly a later compilation, speaks of Gopāla instead of Pālaka. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* records a tradition, according to which king Pālaka was overthrown by Āryaka (apparently the Ajaka or Sūryaka of the Purāṇas), who was the son of a *Gopāla* or milkman, as the result of a popular outbreak. This tradition making Āryaka the son of a milkman probably resulted from the meaning of the name of Gopāla who may have actually been a dispossessed brother (or step-brother) of Pālaka. Whether it was influenced by the humble birth of the mother of either Gopāla or Āryaka cannot be determined.


Puṇaka (or Puṇika)
I. Caṇḍa-Pradyota Mahāsena
Kumārasena
Gopāla
II. Pālaka
Vāsavadattā (married to Udayana of Kauśāmbī)
III. Āryaka
IV. Viśākhayūpa
V. Avantivardhana (overthrown by Śiśunāga)
Maṇiprabha (viceroy of Kauśāmbī)

It is impossible to trace the correct genealogy of the Pradyota dynasty from the conflicting legends discussed above.

But the following facts may be regarded as probable: that Pradyota also called Caṇḍa-Pradyota and Mahāsena, was the first king of the line, his father's mention as king in some traditions being doubtful; that he was succeeded by his son Pālaka; that Pālaka was overthrown by Āryaka (called Avantivardhana in some traditions) who may have been the son of a dispossessed brother of Pālaka; that Āryaka was succeeded by Viśākhayūpa,[35] son of Pālaka; and that Avantivardhana (called Nandivardhana or Avantisena in some traditions), son of Viśākhayūpa and grandson of Pālaka, was overthrown by king Śiśunāga of Magadha. On the basis of these probabilities and modifying some of the Puranic statements quoted above in the light of other traditions, the genealogy of the Pradyotas may be tentatively tabulated as given on page 30.

It will be seen that the various traditions, viz. that Pradyota ruled for 23 years, that the Pradyotas in all ruled for 138 years, that Pradyota was a contemporary of both kings Bimbisāra (*circa* 546-94 B.C.) and Ajātaśatru (*circa* 494-462 B.C.) of Magadha and that Śiśunāga (*circa* 414-396 B.C.) of Magadha overthrew the fifth ruler of the Pradyota dynasty are mutually irreconcilable.[36] There is a Jain scheme of ancient Indian chronology found in Merutunga's *Therāvalī*, which assigns Pradyota's death to 527 B.C., the reign of his successor Pālaka to 527-467 B.C. (60 years) and the rule of the Nandas and Mauryas respectively to 467-312 B.C. (155 years) and 312-204 B.C. (103 years).[37] There is hardly any evidence in support of this chronology which, as will be seen below,[38] appears to be a late fabrication.

Pargiter assigns the accession of the Bṛhadratha king Senājit to 850 B.C. and the period of 231 years to the 16 Bṛhadrathas beginning with that ruler, though the Purāṇas say that they reigned more or less for seven centuries. Likewise, he places Pradyota's accession to 619 B.C. and allots 52 years of rule to the five Pradyotas. According to him, Śiśunāga began to rule in 567 B.C. and the ten Śiśunāga kings reigned for 165 years.[39] This scheme of chronology is arbitrary and anything can be proved or disproved by following such methods.

III

CAṆḌA-PRADYOTA MAHĀSENA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

According to early Buddhist traditions, about the close of the sixth century B.C., Avanti under Pradyota was one of the four most powerful states of India. The three rivals of Avanti were: (i) Vatsa in the Allahabad region with Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam about 35 miles from Allahabad) as its capital, (ii) Magadha in South Bihar with its capital at Girivaja-Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir in the Patna District), and (iii) Kosala in the north-eastern part of U.P. having its capital at Śrāvasti (modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts). Pradyota's sobriquet *Caṇḍa* (i.e. fierce)[40] suggests that he was of a violent temper and was greatly feared by the people. His rashness seems to have induced the Puranic writers to describe him as *naya-varjita* (*i.e.*, devoid of good policy). Pradyota's secondary name *Mahāsena* (*i.e.*, one possessing a huge army) shows that his military strength was a cause of terror to his neighbours. The Purāṇas actually describe him as *praṇata-sāmanta* (*i.e.*, one having the neighbouring kings as his subordinates).[41] Whatever little is known about the facts of Pradyota's reign and policy appears to support these estimates.

Early traditions represent Pradyota of Avanti as engaged in continued warfare with his eastern neighbour, king Udayana of Kauśāmbī. This seems to suggest that, in the days of Pradyota and Udayana, the Avanti and Vatsa kingdoms abutted on each other. This again presupposes the fact that both kingdoms expanded at the expense of their weaker and smaller neighbours.

There is a legend that once Pradyota decided to take Udayana by ruse by taking advantage of the latter's fondness for elephants. The plan is said to have been successful and Udayana was kept as a prisoner at the royal palace at Ujjayinī. Ultimately, however, Udayana is said to have eloped with Pradyota's daughter, Vāsavadattā, whom he made his chief queen on his return to Kauśāmbī.[42] Little can be said in favour of the authenticity of the details of the legend; but its kernel appears to be historical. Thus the long rivalry between Pradyota and Udayana seems to have ended in peace which was cemented by a matrimonial alliance between the royal houses of Ujjayinī and Kauśāmbī. Traditions about Pradyota's relations with the kings of Magadha appear to support the above suggestions.

According to the theory of the *mitr-āmitra-cakra* (*i.e.,* the cycle of friends and enemies of a king) of the ancient Indian politicians, the two neighbours, Avanti and Vatsa, were expected to be inimical, while Avanti and Magadha, which were the western and eastern neighbours of Vatsa, were expected to be friendly towards each other. It is interesting to note that early Buddhist traditions recorded in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[43] actually represent Pradyota as a great friend of king Bimbisāra of Magadha. It is said that once Pradyota was ill with jaundice and asked Bimbisāra to lend him the services of Jīvaka Kaumārabhṛtya, the celebrated physician at the Magadha court, as no other doctor could cure him.[44] Jīvaka was sent to Ujjayinī and succeeded in curing the Avanti monarch. King Pradyota, however, seems to have favoured an aggressive foreign policy and, soon after the conclusion of an alliance with the Vatsa kingdom, began to think of attacking Magadha. According to a Jain legend referred to above, Pradyota went forth to attack Rājagṛha, the capital of Bimbisāra, even during the lifetime of that king, although he was foiled by the cunning of the Magadhan prince Abhaya.[45] According to the Buddhist *Mahāvagga,* as we have already noticed, Pradyota probably made preparations to wage war on Ajātaśatru, son and successor of Bimbisāra, as the Magadhan king had to strengthen the defences of Rājagṛha to meet the threatened attack. But the invasion did not take place.

There is a tradition that king Pradyota was at war with the kingdom of Gandhāra in the present Rawalpindi-Peshawar region before the said area was annexed to the Achaemenian empire by Darius I about the close of the sixth century B.C.[46] The Gandhāran contemporary of Pradyota was king Puṣkarasārin who held his court at Takṣaśilā. He is, no doubt, the same as Pukkusāti represented in Pali literature as a friend and contemporary of king Bimbisāra of Magadha.[47] Pradyota is said to have been unsuccessful in his war with Puṣkarasārin and was saved from disaster by the timely outbreak of hostilities between the king of Gandhāra and the Pāṇḍavas. These Pāṇḍavas appear to have been settled in the Punjab[48] and were thus neighbours of Puṣkarasārin. It is possible to think that the king of Avanti was allied with the Pāṇḍavas of the Punjab against the king of Takṣaśilā. Pradyota is also said to have had a close relation of his on the throne of Mathurā,[49] the capital of the Sūrasena kingdom which was one of the sixteen Great States. This seems to refer to the subjugation of Sūrasena by Avanti during the reign of Pradyota.

After the death of Pradyota, his son Pālaka occupied the throne of Ujjayinī possibly in supersession of his elder brother Gopāla. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* suggests that Pālaka was an unpopular king and that he was set aside in favour of Āryaka as the result of a popular outbreak. It is said that Āryaka passed a long time in captivity. In this work, Āryaka is represented as the son of a cowherd (*Gopāla*) although actually he seems to have been a son of Gopāla, the dispossessed brother of Pālaka. The Jain *Sthavirāvali-carita*[50] relates a story in which king Udayin of Magadha, who was the son and successor of Ajātaśatru, is represented as having rivalry with the king of Avanti. Whether this Avanti king was Pālaka himself cannot be determined with certainty. It should, however, be remembered that, about this time, Magadha had become the strongest power in Eastern India after having conquered East and North Bihar and humbling Kosala, so that it now considered Avanti, which in its turn seems to have crushed the power of the Purus of Kauśāmbī and possibly also the Sūrasenas of Mathurā, as its greatest rival in Northern India. A clash between Avanti and Magadha was thus gradually becoming inevitable.

While the *Mṛcchakaṭika* merely refers to Pālaka's tyranny and his overthrow by Āryaka, some conflicting legends about this king are found in the different versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*.[51] According to the Nepalese *Bṛhatkathā*, Gopāla succeeded Udayana on the throne of Kauśāmbī so that Pālaka succeeded Pradyota at Ujjayinī and later also Gopāla, when he abdicated, at Kauśāmbī. The authenticity of the tradition placing an Avanti prince on the Kauśāmbī throne is challenged by the Purāṇas. But, as will be seen below, the implication that Vatsa formed a part of the dominions of Pālaka may not be altogether impossible. The Purāṇas ascribe to Pālaka a reign of 24 or 28 years; but, according to the doubtful evidence of Merutuṅga's *Therāvalī* and the other Jain *Paṭṭāvalīs*, he ruled for 60 years.

We have seen that Jain traditions speak of Avantisena (king of Ujjayinī) and Maṇiprabha (king of Kauśāmbī) as grandsons of king Pālaka. As suggested above, the real name of Avantisena was probably Avantivardhana who may have been the son and successor of Viśākhayūpa mentioned in the rather confused list of Avanti kings as given in the Purāṇas. Avantivardhana appears to have been the last king of the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti, who was subjugated by the Magadhan monarch Śiśunāga. Whether this subjugation was in any way facilitated by the popular revolt in Avanti, referred to in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, as having occurred at the end of Pālaka's reign, can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

The mention of Maṇiprabha, brother of king Avantisena-Avantivardhana of Ujjayinī, as the king of Kauśāmbī suggests that the Vatsa kingdom was annexed to Avanti before the latter's subjugation by Śiśunāga and that Maṇiprabha was the viceroy of the king of Ujjayinī at Kauśāmbī.

When exactly Vatsa was conquered by the king of Avanti cannot be determined; but, if the Puranic evidence is taken into consideration, it would not appear to have been long before the days of Avantisena-Avantivardhana, the last of the Pradyotas. According to the Purāṇas,[52] king Udayana, who, as we know, was a contemporary of Pradyota of Avanti, was succeeded by no less than four members of the Puru house of Kauśāmbī and, with the latest of them, the royal house became extinct. Thus Udayana was followed on the throne of Kauśāmbī by his son (1) Vahīnara (Naravāhana of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, etc.), (2) his son Daṇḍapāṇi, (3) his son Niramitra, and (4) his son Kṣemaka who was the last of the Puru rulers of the Vatsa country.[53]

As the number of the successors of Udayana is the same as that of those of Pradyota, the annexation of Vatsa to Avanti would not appear to have taken place long before the last of the Pradyotas. It is, however, probable that the later Purus of Kauśāmbī were not fully independent monarchs, but merely subordinate allies of the kings of Avanti. In that case, the subjugation of Vatsa by Avanti (and probably also the appointment of the Avanti king's High Commissioner in the Vatsa kingdom) may be ascribed to an earlier date. If it is believed that the decline of Avanti was the ultimate result of the popular outbreak at the end of Pālaka's reign, it is possible to suggest that Vatsa was subjugated by Pālaka himself. If, again, there is any truth in the tradition regarding the association of Pālaka's elder brother with the throne of Kauśāmbī, the subjugation of the Vatsa country may even be assigned to Pradyota. Thus Udayana, one of the greatest figures of ancient Indian folklore,[54] seems to have considerably weakened the position of his kingdom by his continuous warfare especially with Avanti, so that the Vatsa kingdom fell a prey to Avanti not long after his death.[55]

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[1] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1950, pp. 95 ff.

[2] The name was often written as *Avantī*.

[3] The Avantis were so named after their ancestor Avanti, the son of king Arjuna Kārtavīrya (*i.e.*, the son of Kṛtavīrya) who was a descendant of Haihaya, a distinguished member of Yadu's family. One of Avanti's descendants was Tālajaṅgha whose descendants, the Tālajaṅghas, became so numerous that the name Tālajaṅgha became almost equivalent to Haihaya. Of Tālajaṅgha's many sons, the chief was Vītihotra. The Haihaya clan comprised the following subclans: (1) Vītihotra, (2) Śāryāta, (3) Bhoja, (4) Avanti and (5) Tuṇḍikera, all of whom were reckoned as 'the Tālajanghas'. See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 41, 102, 143, 153, 263, etc. According to a Puranic tradition, the territory bounded by the Carmaṇvatī (Chambal), Vetravatī (Betwa), Śuktimatī (Ken) and Narmadā was divided between the Yādavas and Haihayas, the former getting the northern part and the latter the southern section.

[4] Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 54.

[5] II. 31. 10.

[6] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[7] Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 193. In the Pali works, Avanti is often mentioned along with Aśmaka which had its capital at Potana or Paudanya, modern Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of Andhra Pradesh (cf. *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 31 note, 154, 159).

[8] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, XII. 2-3.

[9] Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 23-24.

[10] Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 7.

[11] See Tawney's trans., Vol. II, pp. 1-3; Vol. III, p. 87.

[12] Ed. Kāvyamālā Series, p. 73, verse 93.

[13] They have been quoted by Pargiter. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21: *Bṛhadratheṣv = atīteṣu Vītihotreṣv= Avantiṣu | Sunikaḥ svāminaṁ hatvā putraṁ samabhiṣekṣyati || miṣatāṁ kṣatriyāṇāṁ hi Pradyotaṁ Suniko balāt || sa vai paraṇatasāmanto bhavaiṣyo naya-varjitaḥ | trayoviṁśat samā rājā bhavitā sa nar-ottamah || caturviṁśat samā rājā Pālako bhavitā tataḥ | Viśākhayūpo bhavitā nṛpaḥ pañcāśatīṁ samāḥ || ekaviṁśat samā rājyam=Ajakasya bhaviṣyati | bhaviṣyati samā viṁśat tat-suto Nandivardhanaḥ || aṣṭāriṁśac = chataṁ bhāvyā Pradyotāḥ pañca te*

nṛpāḥ | *hatvā teṣāṁ yaśaḥ kṛtsnaṁ Śiśunāgo bhaviṣyati* || Note the variant readings especially of the proper names. Cf. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, p.221.

[14] As indicated above, both the Vītihotras and Avantis were branches of the Haihaya clan of the Yadu or Yādava people. The Haihayas had their headquarters at Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, sometimes regarded as forming a part of the Avanti country. The Vītihotras were apparently ruling at Ujjayinī, the capital of the land named after their brethren, the Avantis. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-46. The suggestion that Pradyota of the Purāṇas was a ruler of Magadha, who flourished considerably before Pradyota of Avanti (*JBORS*, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.) is based on misunderstanding and is utterly unconvincing. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 113 ff.; *JIH*, Vol. XI, pp. 288 ff. See also *Proc. IHC, Aligarh*, 1943, pp. 101 ff.

[15] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. VI, p. 683; also Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp.114, 146.

[16] Pargiter translates the Puranic passage as "when the Bṛhadrathas, Vītihotras and Avantis have passed away" (*op. cit.*, p. 68).

[17] Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 22ff.; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff., 218 ff., 225 ff.; cf. *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 125-28. See also *infra*.

[18] VIII. 1. 23 ff. (S.B.E., XVII, pp. 186 ff.).

[19] *ABORI*, 1920-21, p. 3.

[20] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 204, note; p. 147.

[21] See, e.g., *Mahāvagga*, I. 22 and 39-40; II. 1; *Cullavagga*, V. 5; VI. 3. 11; VII. 2, for Bimbisāra; *Cullavagga*, VII. 2. 1; VII. 2. 5; XII. 1. 8, for Ajātaśatru; *Cullavagga*, XI. 1. 12-14 for Udayana; and *Mahāvagga*, III. 14, for Prasenajit. That Pradyota and the Buddha are not brought in Buddhist literature into direct relation to each other is, no doubt, due to the fact that the Buddha never visited the Avanti country (*JIH*, Vol. XI, p. 296).

[22] P.T.S. ed., Vol. III, Part i, p. 7.

[23] Cf. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 17, 32, 70. It is also said that Pradyota ascended the throne at the time of the Buddha's enlightenment, *i.e.*, in the thirtyfifth year of his life.

[24] Bhau Daji, *Literary Remains*, pp. 129 ff.

[25] Jacobi, *Introduction to the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 7.

[26] P.T.S. ed., Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 192 ff.

[27] He is often called Caṇḍa-Pradyota in Buddhist literature (Fausböll, *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 133, etc.).

[28] Ch. VI, Nirṇayasāgar ed., p. 199. The passage runs: *Mahākāla-mahe ca mahāmāṁsa - vikraya - vāda - vātulaṁ Vetālas = Tālajaṅgho jaghāna jaghanyajaṁ Pradyotasya Pauṇakiṁ kumāraṁ Kumārasenam.* It is said that, during the festival of the god Mahākāla [of Ujjayinī], a Tālajaṅgha named Vetāla killed Prince Kumārasena, son of Puṇaka and younger brother of Pradyota, while he was absorbed in a discussion regarding the sale of human flesh (cf. the description of Mādhava selling the same article in the *Mālatīmādhava*). There is little doubt that the Tālajaṅgha murderer of Kumārasena was a partisan of the Vītihotra king who was overthrown by Puṇaka and Pradyota and that the murder was an act of retaliation.

[29] Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 235-36.

[30] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 note, 221 note.

[31] CXII. 13; Tawney, *op cit.*, II, pp. 485.

[32] *Essay on Guṇāḍhya*, p. 115.

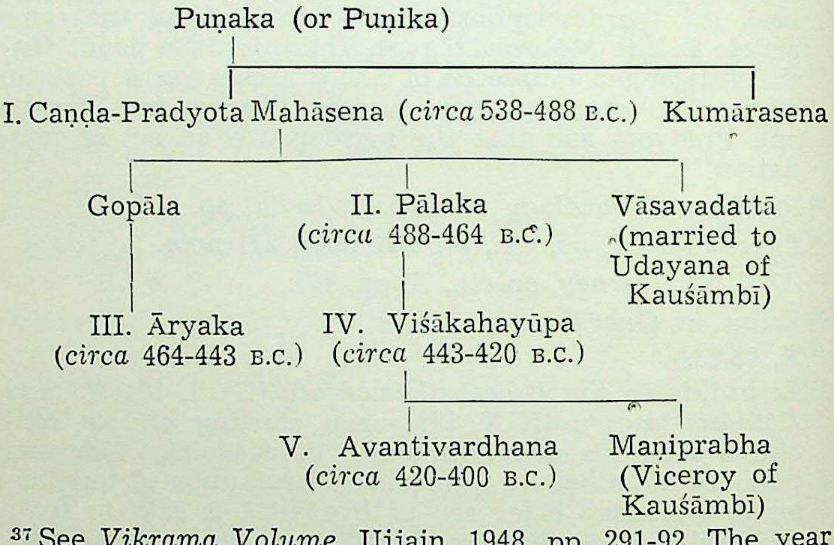
[33] X, 62-63.

[34] According to the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (III. i. 101 ff.) and *Kathāsaritsāgara* (XIX. 57), when starting on his conquests after his marriage with Vāsavadattā, Udayana placated his allies by a judicious distribution of territories and Gopāla, elder son of Pradyota, is said to have received Vidiśā (Videha according to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*). A. Ghosh suggests that Vidiśā (East Malwa) formed a part of Udayana's dominions and Gopāla dedicated this region (and not Kauśāmbī where Udayana's descendants were ruling for some generations after his death) to Pālaka after the death of Udayana. See *JIH*, Vol. XI, p. 289. The suggestion is not improbable; but too much reliance on such traditions does not appeal to us.

[35] It should, however, be admitted that Viśākhayūpa's position in the genealogy and chronology of the Pradyotas is doubtful. Majumdar is, however, wrong when he points out (*JBORS*, Vol. VII, p. 113; cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 18) that some Puranic texts place Viśākhayūpa last in the Pradyota list while some do not mention him at all. Ghosh thinks that Viśākhayūpa ruled somewhere

else, after Pālaka, as a rival of Ajaka = Āryaka and Avantivardhana (*JIH*, Vol. XI, pp. 291, 296).

[36] If, however, it may be *conjectured* that the long reign of 50 or 53 years ascribed in the Purāṇas to the otherwise unknown Viśākhayūpa actually belongs to Pradyota and that Viśākhayūpa really ruled for 23 years, allotted to Pradyota through some confusion, the discrepancies may be somehow reconciled. On the basis of this rather arbitrary suggestion, the genealogical tree of the Pradyota kings, together with their tentative reign periods, may be drawn roughly as follows :-


Puṇaka (or Puṇika)
I. Caṇḍa-Pradyota Mahāsena (*circa* 538-488 B.C.)
Kumārasena
Gopāla
II. Pālaka (*circa* 488-464 B.C.)
Vāsavadattā (married to Udayana of Kauśāmbī)
III. Āryaka (*circa* 464-443 B.C.)
IV. Viśākahayūpa (*circa* 443-420 B.C.)
V. Avantivardhana (*circa* 420-400 B.C.)
Maṇiprabha (Viceroy of Kauśāmbī)

[37] See *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 291-92. The year 528 B.C. is the traditional date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* which, as we have seen above, synchronised with Pradyota's death according to Jain traditions. The actual date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* is believed by some writers to have been 470 B.C. and Ghosh accepts this date for the death of Pradyota and accession of Pālaka (*JIH*, Vol. XI, pp. 290-91). We are inclined to put no credence in the Jain tradition. The real date of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*, moreover, cannot be determined. Ghosh's belief that Pradyota lived for some time after the Buddha's *Nirvāṇa* (486 or 483 B.C.) is not supported by any evidence.

[38] See below, Lecture VI, Section ii.

[39] See *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 286-87. Cf. below, Lecture III, Section i.

40 He is said to have had power equal to that of the sun's rays (Malalasekera, *Dict.*, s.v. *Caṇḍa-Pajjota*).

41 The word *sāmanta* in this context seems to mean 'a neighbour' and not 'a subordinate'.

42 Udayana who could charm elephants with his magic lute, once saw in the forest an elephant which was really a wooden elephant concealing 60 of Pradyota's men. Udayana's attempt to capture the elephant, which was made to run with the help of a mechanism, led to his separation from his retinue and his capture by Pradyota's men. Pradyota celebrated the capture of his enemy by three days' festivities while Udayana was asking him either to release or to kill him. Pradyota offered to release Udayana if the latter would teach him the elephant charm; but Udayana would teach it only to one who would pay him homage as a teacher. Pradyota then contrived that it should be taught to his daughter Vāsavadattā (*Vāsuladattā* in Pali). A curtain was hung between the teacher and the pupil and the former was told that the latter was a hunch-backed woman of the court while he was represented to the latter as a leper who knew a charm. Vāsavadattā being rather slow in learning the charm, one day Udayana called her a hunchback dunce in impatience while the princess angrily called him a leprous villain. The curtain was raised and they saw each other and loved. Later they made preparations for and ultimately succeeded in escaping from Pradyota's palace to Kauśāmbī. See Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, s. v. *Vāsuladattā*.

43 Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 838.

44 The cure for Pradyota's malady was ghee for which the king had a strong aversion. Fearing Pradyota's bad temper, Jīvaka decided to administer ghee in an astringent decoction and obtained permission to use any of the royal animals and to leave the city at any time he liked, on the plea that he would have to search for various medicinal herbs. Thereafter Jīvaka administered the medicine to the king and escaped. The king, very angry at the taste of the medicine, tried to capture Jīvaka in vain. But later, on being completely cured, Pradyota sent Jīvaka many costly presents. See Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Caṇḍa-Pajjota* and *Jīvaka-Komarabhacca*.

45 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 205. The *Kumārapālapratibodha* (G.O.S., No. XIV, pp. 76-83) says how Pradyota, worshiped by fourteen kings at Ujjayinī, was captured by Prince

Abhaya of Magadha and had to bow down to Śreṇika Bimbisāra.

[46] Lacôte, *Essay on Guṇāḍhya,* p. 176.

[47] Malalasekera, *op. cit.,* Vol II, p. 215.

[48] Cf. Ptolemy, *Geography,* VII. i. 46. Ptolemy places the Pāṇḍu country in the valley of the Vitastā and includes in it the cities of Sākala (Sialkot) and Boukephala (probably modern Jalalpur on the right bank of the Vitastā or Jhelum). The Puru king (Poros), contemporary of Alexander, seems to have belonged to this clan. See also Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.,* p. 94.

[49] Malalasekera, *op. cit.,* s.v. *Avantīputta;* Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.,* p. 204.

[50] VI. 189-90; Pradhan, *op. cit.,* p. 217.

[51] See *IHQ,* Vol. VI, pp. 698 ff.

[52] Pargiter, *op. cit.,* p. 66.

[53] *Bhaviṣyate c = Odayanād = vīro rājā Vahīnaraḥ | Vahīnar-ātmajaś=c=aiva Daṇḍapāṇir=bhaviṣyati || Daṇḍapāṇer = Niramitro Niramitrāt = tu Kṣemakaḥ* (Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text,* etc., p. 7).

[54] Cf. *Meghadūta,* I. 30. H. K. Deb in his *Udayana Vatsarāja* draws our attention to certain facts, notably the inclusion of Magadha and Avanti in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* list of the countries conquered by Udyana in course of his *digvijaya,* and suggests that Udayana occupied the throne of Magadha after Darśaka and that of Avanti after Pālaka. There is little to be said in favour of this view which is based on misunderstanding and too much reliance on a vague tradition of doubtful historical value. See also *JIH,* Vol. XI, p. 292.

[55] The recent excavations at Ujjayinī do not appear to have thrown any light on the history of the Pradyota dynasty.

LECTURE III

MALWA AS PART OF THE MAGADHAN EMPIRE

I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY DYNASTIES OF MAGADHA

Magadha was originally the name of the tract that roughly comprised the present Patna and Gaya Districts of Bihar. A Nonaryan king, named Pramaganda, is mentioned in the Vedic literature as the ruler of the Kīkaṭa country identified with Magadha in the Purāṇas and the medieval lexicons.[1] The earliest Aryan ruling family of Magadha, known from epic and Puranic traditions, is said to have been founded by Bṛhadratha, a son of king Vasu Uparicara of the Cedi country in the valley of the Śuktimatī (modern Ken, a tributary of the Jamuna). Thus the Bṛhadrathas of Magadha appear to have been a branch of the Cedi clan[2] of the Yādava race. But Vasu Uparicara is generally represented in tradition as a scion of the celebrated Kuru or Puru family of Hastināpura.[3] Epic and Puranic traditions describe the early Magadhan king Jarāsandha, who had his capital at Girivraja (near modern Rajgir in the Patna District), as an emperor of Eastern India having friendly relations with Vāsudeva, king of the Puṇḍras [of North Bengal], and Kaṁsa king of Mathurā. In spite of the fact that the Jarāsandha legends may have been influenced by the later imperial tradition of Magadha, it is probable that Jarāsandha, represented as the son of Bṛhadratha, was really a powerful monarch.

We have seen how the Purāṇas appear to suggest that the Bṛhadratha house of Magadha was supplanted by a new ruling family about the middle of the sixth century B.C. There is, however, a confusion in regard to the dynasty that followed the Bṛhadrathas in Magadha. We have two conflicting traditions regarding the date of Śiśunāga in relation to that of the Magadhan king Bimbisāra who was an older contemporary of the Buddha (*circa* 566-486 B.C.). According to one of the Puranic statements,[4] Bimbisāra was the fifth king of the dynasty founded by Śiśunāga, while, according to the Ceylonese chronicles,[5] Śiśunāga succeeded a Magadhan king who was sixth in descent from Bimbisāra. Roughly speaking, therefore, the above Puranic statement would place Śiśunāga about a century *before* Bimbisāra, while the Ceylonese chronicles place him about a century *after* the same Magadhan king. That, however, the Puranic tradition about Śiśunāga being the fifth ancestor of Bimbisāra is wrong and that the Ceylonese tradition making the former a contemporary of the sixth descendent of the latter is correct are suggested by other traditions recorded in the Purāṇas themselves.

In the first place, as we have already seen, the Purāṇas[6] represent Śiśunāga as the contemporary of the fifth ruler of the Pradyota dynasty of Avanti, who ended his rule 138 years after the foundation of that dynasty by Pradyota, a contemporary of Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru as well as of the Buddha. Thus this Puranic tradition would place Śiśunāga about a century after Pradyota and therefore also after the latter's contemporaries Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of Magadha. As we have also seen, this suits the story of the expansion of Magadha under these rulers in the following three stages: (I) Bimbisāra conquered Aṅga in East Bihar; (II) Ajātaśatru conquered North Bihar and humbled the power of Kosala; and (III) Śiśunāga extended his power towards the west by crushing the Pradyota house of Avanti.

There is another Puranic tradition that Śiśunāga placed his son at Vārāṇasī and made Girivraja his own abode.[7] This seems to suggest that, at the time of Śiśunāga's accession to the Magadhan throne, Vārāṇasī formed a part of the kingdom of Magadha and that Śiśunāga was, prior to his accession to the throne, the Magadhan governor of Vārāṇasī. The Ceylonese chronicles call Śiśunāga the *amātya* of the last ruler of Bimbisāra's house and the said official designation is known to have been often enjoyed by the governors of provinces.

The above state of things was possible only some time *after*, and not *before*, the age of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, during which the district round Vārāṇasī, an independent kingdom in earlier times, formed a part of the kingdom of Kosala, and a Kāśigrāma, indicating a village or a group of villages in that district, was given by the Kosala king to the Magadhan queen as her bath-money.[8]

Ajātaśatru partially humbled the king of Kosala, who had confiscated the above Kāśigrāma after Bimbisāra's death, by compelling him to give back the village. But the annexation of the district round Vārāṇasī to Magadha seems to have been due to one of Ajātaśatru's successors. Since therefore Śiśunāga appears to have flourished in an age when Vārāṇasī formed a part of Magadha, he apparently flourished considerably after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

The Ceylonese tradition as to Śiśunāga flourishing about a century after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru is supported also by other evidences. According to a Burmese tradition which probably comes from Ceylon,[9] Śiśunāga's son transferred his capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. Now Rājagṛha was a new city built by Bimbisāra in the suburbs of Girivraja, the older capital of Magadha. If therefore Śiśunāga's son was at first living at Rājagṛha, he and apparently also his father must have flourished sometime after the foundation of the new city by Bimbisāra. Then again, Pāṭaliputra was founded, according to the Purāṇas,[10] by Ajātaśatru's successor Udayin in his fourth regnal year. The Jain *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*[11] also says that it was Udayin who transferred his residence from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra. This city was built on a village called Pāṭaligrāma where, according to the *Mahāvagga*,[12] Ajātaśatru's ministers Sunīdha and Varṣakāra are known to have built a fort in order to repel an attack of the Vṛjis of North Bihar. Now, if Śiśunāga's son ruled at Pāṭaliputra, he must have flourished sometime after the foundation of that city by a successor of Ajātaśatru.

According to a statement in the late *Mālālaṅkāravatthu*,[13] Śiśunāga made Vaiśālī his capital and from that time Rājagṛha 'lost her rank of royal city which she never afterwards recovered.' Thus Vaiśālī formed a part of the Magadhan kingdom during Śiśunāga's rule. But we know that, in the days of Bimbisāra, Vaiśālī was the capital of the independent Vṛji confederacy and that it was Ajātaśatru who humbled the power of that confederacy and annexed parts or the whole of North Bihar to Magadha. The Magadhan king who made Vaiśālī his abode must have flourished *after* the Magadhan monarch who annexed Vaiśālī to Magadha. This shows therefore that Śiśunāga flourished considerably after Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. The Buddhist tradition that the second Buddhist council was held at Vaiśālī during the reign of Śiśunāga's son[14] also supports the evidence of the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu*. Moreover, the statement that Rājagṛha lost for ever its position as a royal city during Śiśunāga's rule apparently points to a date considerably later than the age of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, when it was the very capital of Magadha. It is clear that Udayin, a successor of Ajātaśatru, removed the capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra newly built by him; then Śiśunāga once against made Girivraja (the old city near Rājagṛha) his abode, although he later transferred his capital to Vaiśālī; next Śiśunāga's son, who had probably been staying at Rājagṛha as *Yuvarāja* and governor, removed his headquarters to Pāṭaliputra after his father's death.

The above discussions will show that the Puranic statement as to Śiśunāga flourishing about a century before Bimbisāra is contradicted not only by various Buddhist traditions but also by other statements of the Purāṇas themselves. On the other hand, the Ceylonese tradition placing Śiśunāga about a century after Bimbisāra is supported amongst others by certain traditions recorded in the Purāṇas. It is also inter-

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esting to note that the chronology of the houses of Bimbisāra, Śiśunāga, Nanda and Candragupta, as given in the Ceylonese chronicles agrees with several known facts of Indian history.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*,[15] Bimbisāra ruled for 52 years; his son Ajātaśatru for 32 years; his son Udayin for 16 years; his son Aniruddha and grandson Muṇḍa for 8 years; Muṇḍa's son Nāgadāsaka (Sanskrit *Nāga-Darśaka*) for 24 years; his *amātya* Śiśunāga for 24 years; his son Kālāśoka for 28 years; his ten sons for 22 years; the nine Nandas for 22 years; Candragupta for 24 years; his son Bindusāra for 28 years; and his son Aśoka for 37 years. The same work[16] also records three important traditions: (i) that the Buddha died in the eighth regnal year of Ajātaśatru; (ii) that, at the end of the tenth regnal year of Śiśunāga's son, a century had elapsed since the Buddha's death; and (iii) that 218 years had passed from the Buddha's death upto Aśoka's coronation. Now, the most reliable tradition about the date of the Buddha's death is 486 B.C. suggested by the Cantonese dotted record of 489 A.D. taken from India to China by Saṅghabhadra,[17] although scholars now usually accept the date 483 B.C. proposed by Fleet and Geiger.[18]

Thus the following chronology of the early Magadhan rulers is suggested:

King	*Reign period*
Bimbisāra	546-495 B.C. or 543-492 B.C.
Ajātaśtru	495-462 B.C. or 492-459 B.C.
Udayin	462-446 B.C. or 459-443 B.C.
Aniruddha and Muṇḍa	446-438 B.C. or 443-435 B.C.
Nāga-Dāsaka (Darśaka)	438-414 B.C. or 435-411 B.C.
Śiśunāga	414-396 B.C. or 411-393 B.C.
Kālāśoka	396-368 B.C. or 393-365 B.C.
Ten sons of Kālāśoka	368-346 B.C. or 365-343 B.C.
Nine Nandas	346-324 B.C. or 343-321 B.C.
Candragupta	324-300 B.C. or 321-297 B.C.
Bindusāra	300-272 B.C. or 297-269 B.C.
Aśoka	272-235 B.C. or 269-232 B.C.

The above genealogy and chronology based on the Ceylonese traditions do not tally with the informations supplied by the Purāṇas.[19] But, even if they may not be completely accurate, they agree remarkably with the following known facts of history: (1) that the last Nanda king was on the throne of Magadha when Alexander the Great was leading his Indian expedition in 327-324 B.C.; (2) that Candragupta, a younger contemporary of Alexander, ascended the Magadhan throne shortly after the Greek king's departure from India; and (3) that Aśoka was a contemporary of Antiochus II Theos (261-246 B.C.) of Syria and Western Asia, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) of Egypt, Magas (*circa* 285-258 B.C.) of Cyrene, Antigonas Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) of Macedonia and Alexander of Epirus (272-*circa* 255 B.C.) or of Corinth (252-*circa* 244 B.C.). The probable course of the gradual expansion of Magadha, under Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Śiśunāga, Mahāpadma-Nanda, Candragupta and Aśoka, from a small State in the Patna-Gaya region of South Bihar to a gigantic empire covering the major parts of India and Afghanistan should also have to be borne in mind in this connection.

II

EXPANSION OF MAGADHA UNDER THE HARYAṄKAS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

The dynasty to which Bimbisāra belonged is called Haryaṅka by Aśvaghoṣa.[20] Whether this name was borne by one of Bimbisāra's ancestors or was derived from a *Hari* (lion, horse, monkey, frog, snake, etc.) emblem (*aṅka*) on the family's banner cannot be determined. According to Buddhist traditions, Bimbisāra was not the founder or the first king of his family and he is said to have been anointed king at the early age of 15 by his royal father whose name is sometimes given as Bhāti or Bhātiya.[21] King Bhātiya is said to have been defeated by the king of Aṅga (the Monghyr-Bhagalpur region in East Bihar) which was a very powerful kingdom in the first half of the sixth century B.C. There are traditions which show that, for a time, Magadha became a province of Aṅga.[22] But the tables were turned by Bimbisāra, also called Seniya in Pali, who is said to have killed the Aṅga king Brahmadatta, and his son Ajātaśatru resided at the latter's capital Campā (located near modern Bhagalpur)[23] as his viceroy in Aṅga. The annexation of Aṅga by Bimbisāra was the first step in the expansion of Magadha.

In the sixth century B.C., the major part of North Bihar was under the rule of the Vṛji confederacy, formed by the Vṛjis, Licchavis, Jñātṛkas and other clans, having its headquarters at the Licchavi capital, Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar).[24] The Vṛjis were powerful enough to invade Magadha during the reign of Bimbisāra whose son and successor Ajātaśatru fortified the village of Pāṭaligrāma (the future Pāṭaliputra) on the Ganges for conducting a campaign against his northern neighbours.[25] About this time, the confederacy was headed by *Rājā* Ceṭaka (possibly Sanskrit *Caitraka*) who is said to have received considerable help from 'eighteen' *gaṇa-rājas* or republican chiefs of Kāśi and Kosala, in the struggle with Ajātaśatru. The confederacy of Vaiśālī was, however, ultimately crushed by the Magadhan monarch who succeeded in annexing the major part of North Bihar to his empire. Thus practically the whole of Bihar came under the sway of the rulers of Magadha.[26] It is not impossible that the Vṛji confederacy was a subordinate ally of the powerful king of Kosala and received help from the latter. Raychaudhuri believes that Ajātaśatru's wars with Kosala and North Bihar 'were probably not isolated events, but part of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha.' [27]

In the second half of the sixth century B.C., Kosala (the modern Oudh region) in U.P. was one of the most powerful States in India. The old kingdom of Kāśi (*i.e.* the area around Vārāṇasī) now formed a part of the Kosala kingdom and a number of republican tribes including the Śākyas of Kapilavastu acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kosala king.[28] When Bimbisāra married Kosaladevī, sister of king Prasenajit of Kosala, she received as her bath-money a certain tract called Kāśigrāma apparently in the Vārāṇasī region. After the death of both Bimbisāra and Kosaladevī, this tract was claimed by Prasenajit as belonging to him by right of inheritance. This led to a protracted war between Kosala and Magadha. Ultimately the Kosala king offered the hand of his daughter to Ajātaśatru the new king of Magadha, and dismissed her with the land in question as her bath money. The result of the war points to the discomfiture of the Kosala king.[29]

The power of Kosala seems to have been considerably weakened by the Magadhan war and ultimately led to its annexation to Magadha by one of the successors of Ajātaśatru. The Purāṇas place only four Ikṣvāku rulers on the Kosala throne after Prasenajit and speak of the end of the Ikṣvākus of Kosala with the latest of these rulers; but nothing can be said regarding the authenticity of the Puranic tradition which does not tally with the Buddhist account of the successors of Prasenajit.[30] In any case, Kosala seems to have lost her independence not long after Prasenajit's war with Ajātaśatru. The weakness of Prasenajit after the war seems to be clearly demonstrated by the great ease with which, according to Buddhist tradition, he was dethroned by his son.[31] It seems possible that it was Udayin, a successor of Ajātaśatru, who annexed Kosala to Magadha. The Jain *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*[32] represents Udayin as a rival of the Pradyota king of Avanti (possibly Pālaka) and supports the Puranic tradition making him the founder of Pāṭaliputra, the new Magadhan capital. The transference of the capital from Rājagṛha in South Magadha to the new city at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone was probably due to its position about the centre of the realm including East and North Bihar and probably also the old kingdoms of Kosala and Kāśi. In this way, Magadha became the strongest power in Eastern India and stood face to face with Avanti which had become, under the Pradyotas, the most powerful State in the western part of the country. A tussle between Magadha and Avanti, as we have seen, was now inevitable and, sometime about the close of the fifth century B.C., the Magadhan king Śiśunāga exterminated the power of the Pradyota king of Avanti (which now included Vatsa and probably also Sūrasena) and seems to have annexed that country to Magadha. From this time, as indicated above, Avanti and the neighbouring areas continued to form a part of the Magadhan empire for several centuries.

Although the main facts in the course of Magadha's expansion under the Haryaṅkas and Śiśunāgas are indicated above, the extent of the empire under different monarchs cannot be determined with exactitude. The conquest of Avanti might have led to the inclusion, in the Magadha empire, of a part of the Narmadā valley in the Deccan (cf. Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha referred to above) and to the expansion of the empire up to the Arabian Sea in the west.

We have seen how Śiśunāga, originally the Magadhan viceroy at Vārāṇasī, at first preferred Girivraja-Rājagṛha as his capital, but later left it in favour of Vaiśālī in North Bihar and how his son finally transferred the capital to Pāṭaliputra.

According to tradition, the Śaiśunāga dynasty was overthrown by the Nanda line represented by nine rulers, a father followed by his eight sons. There is great confusion in the traditional evidence regarding the origin and history of the Nandas.[33] It seems, however, that the first Nanda, whose name is given in the Purāṇas as Mahāpadma (Mahāpadmapati) and in the *Mahābodhivaṁśa* as Ugrasena, was a man of humble origin (possibly a barber by profession as suggested by the Classical writers), although, soon after seizing the royal power of Magadha, the Nandas appear to have been eager to represent themselves as pure Kṣatriyas. The Purāṇas appear to speak of the Nandas as Śūdras and to suggest that the first Nanda even claimed to have been the son of an earlier ruler of Magadha begotten on a Śūdra woman. The name of the ninth or last Nanda is given in the *Mahābodhivaṁśa* as Dhana; but the Classical writers call him Agrammes or Xandrames, which may stand for Nanda or Augrasena, 'the son of Ugrasena'. According to Curtius,[34] the father of Agrammes who was on the throne at the time of Alexander's Indian expedition, having advanced too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch (probably Śiśunāga's son Kālāśoka, called Kākavarṇa in some traditions), treacherously murdered his sovereign[35] and, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children (*i.e.* the ten sons of Kālāśoka-Kākavarṇa), usurped the supreme authority and soon put the young princes to death.

The Purāṇas describe Mahāpadma Nanda as the destroyer of all the Kṣatriyas (*i.e.* ruling clans) and as the sole monarch (*eka-rāṭ*) of the earth which was under his undisputed sway.[36] It has been suggested that the above statements of the Purāṇas imply that this Magadhan monarch finally overthrew all the dynasties that ruled contemporaneously with the Śiśunāgas and their predecessors, such as the Ikṣvākus, Pañcālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Sūrasenas, Vītihotras and others.[37] It seems that during the weak rule of Śiśunāga's son and grandsons, some of these peoples, subdued previously by the earlier Magadhan monarchs, threw off the yoke of Magadha and had to be resubjugated by Mahāpadma Nanda.

According to the Classical writers, the Nanda contemporary of Alexander ruled over the Prasii (*i.e.* the Prācyas or East Indians possibly including the peoples of Bihar and North Bengal) and Gangaridae (the Vaṅgas inhabiting the delta in the lower Ganges Valley),[38] who were the most powerful peoples dwelling beyond the 'extensive deserts' (*i.e.* the Rajputana deserts), with his capital at Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra).[39] The report that the above peoples were waiting for Alexander with an army of 20,000 or 80,000 horsemen, 200,000 foot soldiers, 8000 or 2000 four-horsed war-chariots and 4000 or 3000 or 6000 fighting elephants may have discouraged the Greek soldiers to cross the Beas.[40] These facts appear to suggest that the dominions of the

Nandas included Bengal in the east and extended towards the west upto the Beas and the Rajputana deserts. According to Pliny,[41] the Prasii people were often called Palibothri from the name of their capital Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra) after which the whole tract of the Ganges was also often named. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*[42] speaks of the camp of king Nanda at Ayodhyā (in the present Faizabad District, U.P.) and thus refers to the inclusion of the old kingdom of Kosala in the Nanda empire.

The Magadha empire under the Nandas appears to have embraced considerable parts of the Deccan. Several late inscriptions of about the twelfth century A.D. state that the Kuntala country, comprising the region around the North Kanara District formerly belonging to Bombay and now to the Mysore State, was ruled by the Nandas.[43] There is a tradition that Nanded (ancient Nāndīkaṭa) in Maharashtra was called Nau-nand-dehra probably associating the name with the nine Nandas of Magadha.[44] This however does not appear to be correct since *Nānded* is known to be derived from *Nāndīkaṭa* (literally, 'a locality on the Nāndī river) through Prakrit *Nāndīaḍa*.[45] More important is the evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription[46], according to which a Nanda king excavated a canal in Kaliṅga (the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam region of Orissa) three centuries before king Khāravela (close of the first century B.C.) of Kaliṅga. The same inscription seems also to speak of an image of Jina which had been carried by the Nanda king from Kaliṅga, but was brought back by Khāravela. There is no doubt that the Nanda ruler of Kaliṅga, referred to in the Hathigumpha inscription, belonged to the mighty Nanda house of Pāṭaliputra. Nanda rule in Orissa is also suggested by the existence of a ruling family called Nanda or Nandodbhava in the Cuttack-Dhenkanal region during the early medieval period.[47] That the Nandas ruled over considerable parts of the Deccan is further indicated by the extent of the dominions of their successors, the Mauryas, who could hardly have conquered down to Mysore all at once.

The Nandas were overthrown by the Mauryas who appear to have been essentially a Mongoloid people inhabiting a tract called Pippalīvana near the Himalayas, although, like the Śākyas, Licchavis and other tribes of Mongolian affinity, they claimed the status of the Kṣatriya in Indian society. Some traditions say that the first Maurya, Candragupta, had Nanda blood in his veins; but the Classical authors represent him as a man of humble origin. This is possibly supported by the *Mudrārākṣasa* which often calls Candragupta a *Vṛṣala*, an ambiguous word meaning a Śūdra and also a Hinduised or Aryanised foreigner or Nonaryan fictitiously regarded as a member of a higher social order degraded to a lower rank owing to the non-observance of specified duties and to the neglect of Brāhmaṇas.[48]

The story of the overthrow of the Nandas by Candragupta is obscure; but Plutarch's statement[49] that Candragupta overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men would suggest that he had to recover the various provinces of the Nanda empire gradually after having consolidated his position at Pāṭaliputra. The Junagadh inscription[50] of 150 A.D. proves that the dominions of Candragupta, implied by Classical writers to be lord of the Gangaridae and the Prasii, *i.e.* of Bihar and Bengal, included modern Kathiawad in the west. Certain Tamil traditions speak of the advance of the Mauryas as far south as the Podiyil hill in the Tirunelveli District.[51] According to Jain legends supported by late epigraphic evidence, Candragupta died at Śravaṇabelgoḷa in the Mysore region which thus appears to have been within his empire. The southern boundary of Candragupta's empire seems to be indicated further by the fact that during the days of his grandson Aśoka, who is credited with the conquest of the single territory of Kaliṅga, the Maurya empire included as far as the Chitradurga and Kurnool regions respectively of Mysore and Andhra Pradesh and its southern neighbours were such peoples as the Colas of the Tanjavur-Tiruchirapalli region, the Pāṇḍyas of the Tirunelveli-Ramanathapuram territory and the Keralas of the present Malayalam-speaking area. Kaliṅga, which formed previously a part of the Nanda empire, seems to have assumed independence during the struggle between the Nandas and the Mauryas.

The Uttarāpatha division of ancient Bhāratavarṣa extended from the Eastern Punjab to the valley of the Oxus in Central Asia. The trans-Indus part of this division was annexed to the Persian empire by the Achaemenian monarch Darius I (*circa* 522-486 B.C.). Gandhāra and Sindhu (Hindu=India=the Indus valley) which continued to form a part of the Achaeminian empire from that time, ultimately became semi-independent under nominal Persian authority. After Alexander the Great of Macedon had conquered the Persian emperor Darius III (335-330 B.C.), he led an expedition in India to recover the Persian provinces. He succeeded in recovering them as well as in conquering Indian territory as far as the Beas in the east. Alexander also established several Greek cities on Indian soil. The military power of the warlike peoples of the Punjab and Sindh and the old North-West Frontier Province was greatly shaken by the Greek monarch and this paved the way of Candragupta's conquest of those regions. Sometime after the overthrow of the Nandas, Candragupta expelled the Greeks left by Alexander in the Punjab and the neighbouring areas and annexed them to his empire.

Some years after Alexander's death at Babylon in 323 B.C., the eastern part of his vast empire fell into the hands of his general Seleucus Nicator who established himself at Babylon in 312 B.C. A few years later, about 305 B.C., Seleucus invaded India with a view to recovering the territories that had been conquered by Alexander, but were now occupied by the Maurya monarch Candragupta. The details of this struggle are not known; but the results suggest that the Greek king was defeated by Candragupta. According to Strabo, "The Indians occupy some of the countries along the Indus, which formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander deprived the Ariani of them and established there settlements of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandracottus (Candragupta Maurya) in consequence of a marriage contract and received in turn 500 elephants." "The

Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana which they had received from the Macedonians."[52] Thus Candragupta in exchange for the comparatively small recompense of 500 elephants received from Seleucus, the Macedonian king of Western Asia, some territories situated along the Indus including a large part of Ariana, a name vaguely applied to the eastern part of the ancient Persian empire including Parthia (Khorasan), Aria (Herat region), Paropamisadae (Kabul region), Arachosia (Kandahar region), Gedrosia (Baluchistan) and Carmania (Kirman). That the old North-West Frontier Province and wide areas of Afghanistan thus came to form parts of the Maurya empire is clearly indicated by Aśoka's inscriptions which have been discovered not only in the Peshawar and Hazara Districts but also at Kandahar (Alexandria among the Arachosians).[53] An Aramaic inscription mentioning Devānāṁpriya (an epithet of Aśoka as known from his inscriptions) has been found at Laghman in Eastern Afghanistan.[54] Some of the Aśokan records also refer to the Yavanas (Greeks), very probably of some of the Alexandrias founded by Alexander in Uttarāpatha, as subjects of the Maurya emperor.[55] Aśoka's inscriptions further speak of the dominions of Antiochus II Theos, grandson of Seleucus, as abutting on the Maurya empire. A Yavana-rāja (Greek ruler) named Tuṣāspha, probably a Maurya subject of the Kabul region, was made governor of Surāṣṭra (Kathiawad) by Aśoka.

Hiuen-tsang noticed Buddhist monasteries said to have been built by Maurya Aśoka in different parts of Bengal (but not in Assam) in the east and as far as Kāñcīpura (55 miles from Madras) in the south.[56] There are traditions about Aśoka's rule in Nepal, Kashmir and the Kāñcī region.[57] Thus the whole of India, excepting Assam in the east and the lands of the Colas, Pāṇḍyas and Keralas in the south but together with parts of Afghanistan, was included in the Magadha empire under the Mauryas.

III

MALWA IN THE DOMINIONS OF THE MAURYAS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

According to Buddhist traditions,[58] the Avanti-rāṣṭra having its headquarters at Ujjayinī was one of the provinces of the Maurya empire under Bindusāra and Aśoka, respectively the son and grandson of Candragupta Maurya. The same was no doubt the case also in the reign of Candragupta. Aśoka himself was for a time his father's viceroy at Ujjayinī. There are traditions that the people of Takṣaśilā, capital of the Maurya province of Uttarāpatha, often revolted against Maurya authority owing to the highhandedness of the imperial officials. In the inscriptions of Aśoka, however, official injustice and corruption are alluded to not only in connection with Takṣaśilā but also with Ujjayinī and other areas of the empire. In the first of the Kaliṅga edicts[59] addressed to the *Mahāmātras* who were the *Nagaravyavahārakas* of Tosalī (modern Dhauli in the Puri District of Orissa), Aśoka says, "All men are my children and, just as in regard to my children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness both in this world and in the next, the same I desire also in regard to all men. But you do not understand how far my intention goes in this respect. A few amongst you perchance understand it; but such of you understand it partly and not fully. However well-placed you may be, you have to pay attention to this matter. In the administration of justice, it sometimes happens that some persons suffer imprisonment or harsh treatment. In such cases, a person may accidentally obtain an order cancelling his imprisonment, while many other persons in the same condition continue to suffer for a long time. In such a circumstance, you should so desire as to deal with all of them impartially..... Hence I shall cause my *Mahāmātras*, who will be neither harsh nor fierce but will be gentle in action, to set out on tours of inspection, every five years, for the following purpose, viz., to ascertain if the judicial officers have realised this object of mine and are acting according to my instructions. Similarly from Ujjayinī also, the Prince viceroy will send officers of the same class every year for the same purpose and will not allow three years to pass without such a mission being sent out on tour. In the same way, officers will be deputed from Takṣaśilā also."

The passage quoted above also makes it clear that Avanti was one of the most important regions of the Maurya empire and that it was governed by a Kumāra (a prince of the royal blood, often a son or brother of the emperor) stationed at the city of Ujjayinī.

Aśoka is one of the greatest personalities in the history of the world. He was not only great as a conqueror, an administrator and a builder, but also as a philosopher, a saint and a religious reformer. He denounced the militant policy of his predecessors and enuntiated a new policy of pacifism which led to the rotting of the Magadhan military machine for want of exercise. His excessive zeal for propagating what he called his *Dharma* must have drained the resources of the empire. By too much stress on the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* and the attempt to enforce it with the help of official agents called Dharma-mahāmātras, he must have allienated the sympathy of some classes of his subjects, although he was himself far above communalism and made serious efforts to develop religious toleration among his subjects. The turbulent tribal peoples, especially of the north-western region of the Maurya empire, were hardly amenable to the religious propaganda of the Dharma-mahāmātras. These are no doubt some of the patent factors that led to the gradual decline and dismemberment of the Maurya empire shortly after Aśoka's death.[60] The provinces began to secede from the authority of Pāṭaliputra one by one and the Greeks of Bactria, about the beginning of the second century B.C., not only swept over North-Western and Western India but also over the major part of Northern India as far as the Maurya capital (Pāṭaliputra) in the east. The seige of Pāṭaliputra by the Bactrian Greeks must have been one of the factors that were responsible for the overthrow of the Maurya dynasty by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (*circa* 187-151 B.C.). Puṣyamitra succeeded in driving out the Greeks not only from Bihar and U.P., but also from the eastern areas of the Punjab.[61] According to a Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Divyāvadāna,*[62] the Śuṅga king extended his power as far as Jālandhara and Sākala (modern Sialkot) in the west. The Śuṅgas, however, could not retain their hold on these western areas for a long time. The Greek king Menander made Sākala his capital about the last quarter of the second century B.C.[63]

Malwa, at least its eastern region, no doubt formed a part of the dominions of the Śuṅgas (*circa* 187-75 B.C.) and possibly also of their successors, the Kāṇvas (*circa* 75-30 B.C.). According to Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, while Puṣyamitra Śuṅga resided at Pāṭaliputra, his son Agnimitra was ruling from Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in East Malwa) as his father's viceroy. While according to the *Divyāvadāna*, Puṣyamitra's empire included a portion of the Punjab in the west, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to the hold of the Śuṅgas over the Berar region in the south. The Ayodhyā inscription[64] of Dhanadeva, who claimed to be the sixth descendant of Puṣyamitra may suggest that the valleys of the Ganges and its upper tributaries continued to form a part of the Śuṅga dominions for several generations. But there is some reason to believe that the later Śuṅgas transferred their capital to Vidiśā in East Malwa. This is suggested by the Besnagar inscription[65] of Bhāgabhadra, identified with the fifth ruler of the Puranic list of ten Śuṅga kings. According to this record, Bhāgabhadra received at Vidiśā the Vaiṣṇavite Greek, Heliodorus of Takṣaśilā, an ambassador of the Greek *Mahārāja*, Aṁtalikita (Antialcidas). We have also epigraphic evidence to show that the ninth Śuṅga king Bhāgavata raised a temple of Viṣṇu at Vidiśā.[66] The Barli inscription[67] points to the inclusion of the Ajmer region in the dominions of the same Śuṅga king. A local ruler of the Barhut region (in the old Nagaudh State in Bundelkhand) is known to have acknowledged the supremacy of the later Śuṅgas.[68] If the Andhra-Sātavāhanas originally owed allegiance to the later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, as they appear to have done, the Maharashtra region was probably included in the latter's dominions.

Although the Purāṇas represent the Śuṅgas as well as the Kāṇvas and Andhras (Sātavāhanas) as the rulers of Magadha, that country certainly lay outside the Andhra-Sātavāhana empire. It should also be noted that they connect the end of Śuṅga rule in a vague way with Vidiśā.[69] Among the rulers of Vidiśā or Vaidiśa, they speak of Bhūtinanda, king of Vaidiśa, as followed by Śiśunandin 'after the extinction of the Śuṅga family'. It is possible that the latest rulers of the Śuṅga dynasty had lost Magadha and were ruling in Central India with Vidiśā as their capital and that it was in this area that the Śuṅgas were overthrown by the Kāṇvas and the Kāṇvas by the Andhras or Sātavāhanas. Inscriptions and coins of certain kings like Indramitra, Indrāganimitra, Bṛhaspatimitra (or Bṛhatsvātīmitra) and Brahmamitra, found in Bihar and the eastern part of U.P. and assigned to the first century B.C., appear to point to the loss of Magadha by the latest Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas mentioned in the Puranic lists.[70] Thus, with Vidiśā as their capital, the later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas appear to have made East Malwa their home and the centre of a Central Indian empire. As will be seen below, certain early Sātavāhana coins appear to have been issued for circulation in West Malwa. This area therefore may have been previously held by the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas. And, as we have already indicated above, if the founder of the Sātavāhana family was originally a feudatory of the Kāṇvas but had his headquarters at Pratiṣṭhāna in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra, considerable parts of the present Maharashtra State were probably included in the dominions of the later Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas.

About the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, the power of the Greeks of Bactria was established over wide regions of North-Western and Western India. Reference has already been made to Puṣyamitra's struggle with the Greeks, while the Greek occupation of Western India will be discussed in the next lecture. Whether, however, any part of the present Malwa tract was invaded or occupied by the Greeks cannot be determined with certainty. The *Mālavikāgnimitra* records a tradition according to which Vasumitra, grandson and general of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, fought with the Greeks (Yavanas) on the right bank of the Sindhu. Some scholars are inclined to identify this river with the Kalisind (a tributary of the Chambal) in the Malwa area; but the reference seems actually to be to the Indus.

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[1] Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, 1958, p. 14.

[2] The Cedi royal family of Orissa, represented by Khāravela who claimed descent from Vasu Uparicara, may have been a branch of the Bṛhadratha dynasty of Magadha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.32.7) says that Girivraja or Vasumatī, the old capital of Magadha, was founded by Vasu Uparicara.

[3] This may be due to the fact that the Yādavas are said to have sprung from the said family though they were despised originally apparently owing to their Nonaryan associations and rose in social estimation after the Yādava hero Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa came to be identified with the Supreme Being.

[4] Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

[5] Cf. Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, trans., p. xli.

[6] Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21.

[7] See *ibid.*, p. 21.

[8] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 170.

[9] Cf. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xliii; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., XI, p. xvi.

[10] Pargiter, *loc. cit.*

[11] VI. 175 ff.; Geiger, *loc cit.*

[12] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 171.

[13] Cf. S. B. E., XI, p. xvi.

[14] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 180. The Council was held at the city of Vaiśālī.

[15] Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xli.

[16] II. 32; IV. 8.

[17] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 1938, p. 184.

[18] *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 1-34; Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

[19] According to the Purāṇas, Śiśunāga—40 years; his son Kākavarṇa—36 years (or 26 years); his son Kṣemadhar-

man—36 (or 20) years; Kṣatraujas—40 (or 24) years; Bimbisāra—28 (or 38) years; Ajātaśatru—25 (or 27 or 28) years; Darśaka—25 (or 24) years; his son Udayin (builder of the city of Kusumapura on the southern bank of the Ganges in his fourth regnal year)—33 years; Nandivardhana—40 (or 42) years; Mahānandin—43 years; thus the 10 (or 12) Śaiśunāgas altogether—360 (or 362) years; Mahāpadma or Mahāpadmapati (son of Mahānandin from a Śūdra girl)—88 (or 28) years; his eight sons headed by Sukalpa (or Sumālya, etc.)—12 years; thus the nine Nandas—100 years; after the extirpation of the Nandas by Kauṭilya, Candragupta—24 (or 36) years; Bindusāra—25 years; Aśoka 36 (or 26) years. It will be seen that the reign periods of the nine kings mentioned would give much less than 360 years. In any case, if about 180 years may be allotted both to Bimbisāra and his successors and to Śiśunāga and his successors and 100 years to the Nandas (though the rule of 88 years assigned to Mahāpadma Nanda can hardly be historically accurate), we have to ascribe the Nandas to *circa* 424-324 B.C., the Bimbisārians to circa 604-424 B.C. and the Śaiśunāgas to circa 784-604 B.C. This is obviously far from the truth since, as we have seen, (1) the Śaiśunāgas succeeded the Bimbisārians, and (2) Bimbisāra was a contemporary of the Buddha (*circa* 566-486 B.C.). It is to be noted that Udayin is the son of Ajātaśatru in the Ceylonese chronicles, but probably the grandson of the latter according to the Purāṇas. Likewise, Darśaka is probably Ajātaśatru's son according to the latter source; but Nāga-Dāsaka is his great-great-grandson according to the former.

We have seen that, according to Pargiter's fanciful scheme of Puranic chronology, Śiśunāga ascended the throne in 567 B.C. and the ten Śaiśunāgas (including Bimbisāra and his successors) ruled for 165 years. He assigns Mahāpadma Nanda's accession to 402 B.C. and the reign of the Nine Nandas, covering 80 years according to him, to 402-322 B.C., 322 B.C. being his date for the accession of Candragupta Maurya. See *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, p. 287. As already indicated above, anything can be proved or disproved in the arbitrary way of handling traditional evidence. It will be seen that Pargiter accepts the names and numbers of the kings in the Puranic lists (which are often conflicting among themselves), but not the numbers of the years of rule alloted in the same lists to a king or a dynasty. But it is impossible to believe that the Puranic traditions are correct in one of

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these respects and totally wrong in the other.

[20] *Buddhacarita,* XI. 2.

[21] Malalasekera, *Dict. P. P. Names,* s.v.

[22] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI,* 1950, pp. 106 ff.

[23] An image installed for worship at Campā is said to have been discovered at Jaynagar near Luckeesarai in the western part of the Monghyr District (Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 83); but the statement may be wrong. See Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 77, 152, 155.

[24] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 171. During Bimbisāra's time, the Vaiśālians invaded Magadha (*ibid.*, p. 106).

[26] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 172.

[27] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85, 167.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67; Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names,* s. v. *Kāsigāma* (*Kāsinigama*), *Pasenadi.*

[30] Buddhist tradition speaks of Viḍūḍabha as the son and successor of Prasenajit while, according to the Purāṇas, Prasenajit was succeeded by (1) Kṣudraka; (2) his son Kulaka; (3) his son Suratha; and (4) his son Sumitra who was the last king of the Ikṣvāku family. See Malalasekera, *Dictionary,* s.v. *Viḍūḍabha;* Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text,* etc., pp. 11-12.

[31] Cf. Malalasekera, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 172.

[32] VI. 191; also VI. 34, 175-80.

[33] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 1950, pp. 229 ff.

[34] McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander,* p. 222; *Ind. Cult.,* Vol. VII, pp. 255 ff.

[35] Cf. the Indian tradition referred to in the *Harṣacarita* (Parab's ed., p. 199) regarding the murder of Kākavarṇa.

[36] This refers to the claim of supremacy over the *Cakravarti-kṣetra* (i.e. the sphere of influence of an imperial ruler of India). See *JRASB,* Letters, Vol. V, pp. 407 ff.; Sircar, *Stud Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 1-16.

[37] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI,* 1938, p. 188.

[38] *Proc. I.H.C.*, 1947, pp. 91 ff.; Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 172 ff.

[39] Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India,* p. 128.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 172, 198.

[41] *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1926, p. 141.

[42] Tawney's trans., p. 21.

[43] Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* p. 284, note 2; Sircar, *Suc. Sat.*, p. 216.

[44] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 235.

[45] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 111-12.

[46] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 208 ff.

[47] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 325 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 183 ff.

[48] Cf. *Manusmṛti*, X. 42-43; Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 49.

[49] Alex. LXII; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[50] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 169 ff.

[51] Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, Ch. II; *JRAS*, 1924, p. 666; cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 97 ff.

[52] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 1950, pp. 272-73.

[53] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff.

[54] *BSOAS*, Vol. XIII, 1949, pp. 80 ff.

[55] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 37, text line 9.

[56] Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 8.

[57] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 13.

[58] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 287; also *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 500.

[59] *Select Inscriptions*, pp 43-44; Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 56 ff.

[60] Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 23-24.

[61] See Sircar in *JRAS*, 1963, pp. 18 ff.

[62] Darbhanga ed., p. 282.

[63] Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, pp. 3, 14.

[64] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 69.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

[66] *A.S.I.*, A.R., 1913-14, p. 190.

[67] *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 34 ff.

[68] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 89-90.

[69] A section beginning with the line *Nṛpān=Vaidiśakāṁś=c=āpi bhaviṣyāṁs=tu nibodhata* also contains the following: *Bhūtinandas=tataś=c=āpi Vaidiśe tu bhaviṣyati/śuṅgānāṁ tu kulasy=ānte Śiśunandir=bhavisyati* (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

[70] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 97; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 327. About the close of the first century B.C., the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela mentions the contemporary king Bṛhaspatimitra or Bṛhatsvātīmitra of Magadha separately from a ruler of Rājagṛha.

LECTURE IV

THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS AND ŚAKAS IN MALWA—I

I

THE EARLY ŚĀTAVĀHANAS[1]

With the exception of a few states lying to the south of Mysore, the whole of South India formed a part of the empire of Aśoka Maurya (*circa* 272-232 B.C.). The sucessors of Aśoka gradually lost their hold on the southern part of the empire; but the Berar region in the Upper Deccan (probably with some other areas of Maharashtra) is known from a tradition in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* to have continued to form a part of the dominions of the later Mauryas and the early Śuṅgas.[2] With the gradual dissolution of the Magadhan empire, the Andhras or Śātavāhanas emerged as the strongest power in trans-Vindhyan India.

The Śātavāhanas claimed to have been 'the lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha'.[3] In a narrow sense, Dakṣiṇāpatha indicated the present Maratha country and the adjoining regions, although in a wider sense the name was applied to the whole of South India. The Śātavāhanas may have claimed a sort of suzerainty over the entire South India; but they were actually lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha in the narrow sense of the name. Inscriptions mentioning the early Śātavāhanas have been found in Northern Maharashtra, East Malwa and the neighbouring areas and there is no evidence to show that the Śātavāhana dominions extended beyond the Kṛṣṇā in the south before the days of king Puḷumāvi (*circa* 130-59 A.D.) who had no hold on the northern part of the Śātavāhana empire but succeeded in conquering the district (later called Andhrāpatha) near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the modern Bellary region (later called the Śātavāhanīya *āhāra* or *rāṣṭra*). According to Indian literary traditions, supported by Ptolemy's *Geography*, the Śātavāhanas had their capital at Pratiṣṭhāna which is the modern Paithan in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra and may have been the home of the progenitor of the family.[4]

The royal family, called Śātavāhana in inscriptions, is mentioned as Andhra in the Purāṇas which describe the founder of the line as belonging to the Andhra *jāti* or race. Thus the members of the Śātavāhana family, who were apparently descendants of a prince named Śātavāhana, were Andhras by nationality. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[5] (*circa* sixth century B.C.) speaks of the Andhras as living on the borders of the land occupied by the Aryans, apparently in the Vindhya region. One of the edicts of Aśoka (third century B.C.) appears to refer to the people as neighbours of the Pulindas of the Vindhyan region and the Bhojas who probably inhabited the Berar area of the Northern Deccan.[6] As we have seen, the Śātavāhanas, who were Andhras by nationality, probably had their home in the northern regions of the former Hyderabad State while they conquered the areas around the present Krishna and Bellary Districts about the middle of the second century A.D. The *Serivāṇija Jātaka* places a city of the Andhras on the river Telavāha which is probably the modern Tel in the Eastern Deccan. The Telugu-speaking people of Andhra Pradesh now call themselves Āndhra or Andhra. These facts point to the gradual southward movement of the Andhra people from their original home in the Vindhyan region.

According to the historical sections of the Purāṇas, the Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas ruled successively for about 137, 112 and 45 years, and the last Kāṇva king Suśarman together with 'the remnant of the Śuṅgas' was overthrown by the founder of the Andhra dynasty.[7] The correct name of this ruler, whom the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* calls a *Vṛṣala* and a servant of Suśarman,[8] as known from inscriptions, was Simuka-Śātavāhana. According to the Puranic evidence, therefore, Simuka established Andhra suzerainty nearly three centuries after the accession of Candragupta Maurya about 324 B.C.[9]

It appears that Simuka was originally a feudatory of the Kāṇvas and overthrew his overlord Suśarman, who was probably ruling over Malwa and the adjoining regions, during the later part of his career. Thus Simuka's reign may be assigned roughly to the second and third quarters of the first century B.C. This date of Simuka seems to be supported by the palaeography of the Nanaghat, Nasik, Sanchi and Hathigumpha inscriptions which mention some of the early Śātavāhana rulers.[10] Palaeographically these records are to be placed later than the Besnagar inscription[11] of Heliodorus dated in the fourteenth regnal year of a king of Vidiśā, who is usually identified with the fifth of the ten Śuṅga kings mentioned in the Purāṇas and probably flourished about the last quarter of the second century B.C. By 'the remnant of the Śuṅgas', the Purāṇas possibly mean some later Śuṅga princes of the Malwa region, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kāṇvas or were nominal suzerains of the latter just as the Rājās of Satara were of the Peshwas during the late medieval period.

Simuka is called Śātavāhana which was his second name, although he seems to have been named after an early prince of the same name, who may have been his grandfather. The second suggestion seems to be justifiable in view of the fact that Simuka's brother is described in a Nasik inscription[12] as belonging to 'the family of Śātavāhana'. Some coins bearing the name Śātavāhana were probably issued by king Simuka under his secondary name. Some other coins bearing the name Śāta, supposed from the fabric to have been issued for circulation in West Malwa, may have been issued by himself or by one of his immediate successors named Śātakarṇi. The names Śātavāhana and Śātakarṇi may be of Dravidian origin, although their meanings are uncertain. The Andhras were apparently a Dravidian people; but the Śātavāhanas appear to have claimed the status of the Brahmaṇa probably owing to matrimonial relations with some Brahmanical families. The *Dvātriṁsatputtalikā* and some Jain works representing Śālivāhana (i.e. Śālavāhana, Śātavāhana) as of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin support the above suggestion.[13] But the orthodox Brahmanical writers of the Purāṇas sometimes represent Simuka as a *Vṛṣala,* explained above, exactly as Maurya Candragupta is done in the *Mudrārākṣasa.*

The extent of the dominions of Simuka cannot be clearly defined; but it is possible to think that his empire comprised the northern part of the old Hyderabad State in the south and Malwa, both East and West, in the north. Whether any region of Western India formed a part of his dominions cannot be determined with certainty; but, if such was the case, that area was conquered either from the Indo-Greeks or from the Śuṅgas or Kāṇvas.

Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kṛṣṇa, during whose reign one of the Buddhist caves at Nasik was excavated. Kṛṣṇa was succeeded by Śātakarṇi I who is represented in the Purāṇas as his son. Some scholars regard Simuka as the father of Śātakarṇi, although not on very sound evidence. According to the Purāṇas, Simuka, Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarṇi I ruled respectively for 23, 18 and 18 (or 10) years.

Śātakarṇi I was a powerful king. He married a Nāga princes named Nāgā or Nāgannikā who is represented in the Nanaghat inscription[14] as having performed, apparently as the *Sahadharmiṇī* of her husband, numerous Vedic sacrifices including one Rājasūya and two Aśvamedhas. One of the two horse-sacrifices was possibly celebrated about the beginning of Śātakarṇi's reign to commemorate the recently acquired sovereignty of the Śātavāhana family while the second Aśvamedha about the end of the king's reign to celebrate the exploits of his own.

An inscription[15] in the ruins of the old Buddhist establishments at Sanchi in East Malwa speaks of the chief artisan of king Śātakarṇi who may be no other than Sātakarṇi I. Although this fact may not prove the inclusion of the Sanchi region in Śātakarṇi's dominions as the officer may have visited the Buddhist establishments on pilgrimage, other indications, as suggested above, no doubt point to early Śātavāhana rule in Malwa. The discovery of coins of the type called 'the Malwa fabric', bearing the name of king Śāta, also supports the suggestion. These coins resemble the early cast and punch-marked coins of Eran, Besnagar and Ujjain, i.e. both East and West Malwa. But their round shape associates them more closely with West Malwa, since the early coins of East Malwa were generally square in shape.[16] *Śāta* is a contraction of both the names Śātavāhana and Śātakarṇi and the coins in question, as already indicated above, may have belonged to Simuka-Śātavāhana or Śātakarṇi I.

The Hathigumpha inscription[17] of king Khāravela of Kaliṅga seems to suggest that the eastern boundaries of the dominions of Śātakarṇi I abutted on the expanded empire of Kaliṅga (the Puri-Ganjam-Srikakulam region of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh in a narrow sense) under Khāravela. The epigraphic passage suggests that Khāravela's army attacked a city on the Kṛṣṇabeṇvā (Kṛṣṇā) in the southern part of Śātakarṇi's empire. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* composed shortly after 80 A.D., refers to the earlier rule of a king, named 'the elder Saraganus', over Calliena (modern Kalyāṇa in the Thana District of Maharashtra). *Saraganus* seems to be the Greek corruption of *Śātakarṇi* through the Prakrit from *Sādagaṇṇi,* and the epithet 'elder' possibly suggests that Śātakarṇi I (and not a second or younger king of that name who was also known to the author of the *Periplus*) was meant.[18] Thus the Northern Konkan, the ancient name for which was Aparānta, and probably also the adjoining regions of Gujarat formed a part of the Śātavāhana empire during the reign of Śātakarṇi I.

The passage of the *Periplus* referred to above actually says that Kalyāṇa 'in the time of the elder Saraganus (Śātakarṇi I) became a lawful market town; but, since it came into the possession of Sandares, the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to

Barygaza (modern Broach on the mouth of the Narmadā) under guard.' The passage seems to suggest that the Northern Konkan passed from one of the successors of the elder Śātakarṇi (including apparently a second Śātakarṇi) to a ruler named Sandares shortly before the author's time, i.e. sometime about the middle of the first century A.D. The troubled condition referred to in the work may have been caused by the conquest of the region by the Śakas. Some scholars believe that Sandares of the *Periplus* was a Sātavāhana king who was one of the successors of Śātakarṇi I.[19] But it is more probable that he was a viceroy of Mambarus, probably a Śaka, whom the *Periplus* represents as the king of parts of Western India including Syrastrene, i.e. Surāṣṭra (Southern Kathiawar or the whole of Kathiawar).

The period of about a century that intervened between the death of Śātakarṇi I about the close of the first century B.C. and the accession of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi about the beginning of the second century A.D. appears to have witnessed the temporary eclipse of the Śātavāhana power owing to the encroachment of the Śakas who had come from East Iran and settled in the valley of the Indus before the end of the first century B.C. The Scythian ruler Nahapāna (119-24 A.D.) is actually known to have been in possession of the northern parts of Maharashtra and the Konkan, Malwa, Kathiawar and Rajasthan. Thus the successors of Śātakarṇi I apparently lost wide areas of his empire to the foreigners. It seems that the immediate predecessors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who temporarily re-established the fallen fortunes of the Śātavāhana family, continued to rule merely as subordinate allies of the Śakas.

In the lists of Andhra kings found in the Purāṇas, many names are placed between those of Śātakarṇi I and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. The number of the intervening rulers are found variously to be 10, 12, 13, 14 or 19.[20] Some of these kings appear to have belonged to collateral lines of the Śātavāhana family and ruled at the same period over different parts of the Deccan. This is suggested by the names of Kuntala Śātakarṇi and Hāla in the list, as they are associated in literature with the Kuntala country (around the North Kanara District) in the Kannaḍa-speaking area.

The long Nanaghat inscription, much of which is damaged, seems to speak of the princes Vediśrī and Śaktiśrī as the sons of king Śātakarṇi I and queen Nāgannikā.[21] Śaktiśrī has probably to be identified with the prince Śaktikumāra, son of king Śālivāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna, mentioned in literature.[22] He may also be the same as *Kumāra* Hakuśrī (apparently a Dravidian corruption of *Śaktiśrī*) mentioned in a Nanaghat label inscription.[23] But the name of Śaktiśrī is not found in the Puranic lists of the successors of Śātakarṇi I. In one of these lists, Śātakarṇi I is said to have been succeeded by a second Śātakarṇi, while often a king named Pūrṇotsaṅga is placed between them. One list places another king named Skandhastambhin between Pūrṇotsaṅga and Śātakarṇi II.[24] In view of these conflicting traditions, the real position about the successors of Śātakarṇi I can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. In any case, however, Malwa seems to have been lost by them to the Śakas.

II

WESTERN INDIA UNDER FOREIGN RULE[25]

The most interesting feature of the post-Maurya period of Indian history is the establishment of foreign supremacy in the north-western and western regions of the Indian subcontinent successively by the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kuṣāṇas. The foreigners settled in India were gradually absorbed in Indian society and were often regarded as *aniravasita* (clean) Śūdra or degraded Kṣatriya.[26]

Sometime after the death of Alexander, who conquered the Achaemenian empire of Persia, in 323 B.C., the mastery of Western Asia passed to Seleucus Nicator who had been one of Alexander's generals. As already discussed above, Seleucus measured his strength with Candragupta, but was constrained to make peace, according to which the Maurya emperor's rule in the north-western provinces of India including a considerable part of Afghanistan, formally ceded to him by the Greek king, was acknowledged by the latter. The Greek population of Alexandria (called Alasanda in Pali sources), name of the cities founded by Alexander, remained quite conspicuous even after the Maurya occupation. These Greeks are mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśoka as subjects of the Maurya emperor and one of them, by name Tuṣāspha, as we have seen, was appointed by Aśoka as his viceroy in Kathiawar. Recently an edict of Aśoka in two versions, meant respectively for his Greek and Kamboja (Iranian) subjects, has been discovered at Kandahar.[27]

Bactria and Sogdiana on the two sides of the Oxus continued to form parts of the Seleucid empire. But, about the middle of the third century B.C., Bactria to the south of the Oxus became an independent Greek kingdom under the erstwhile governor of the Seleucid emperors. The Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus (*circa* 225-190 B.C.) conquered the whole of Afghanistan and his son Demetrius (*circa* 190-165 B.C.) extended Greek authority over considerable parts of India. The *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*[28] suggests that the Bactrian Greeks under Demetrius advanced as far east as Puṣpapura, i.e. the city of Pāṭaliputra, shortly after the death of the Maurya king Śālisūka about 200 B.C., while the *Mahābhāṣya*[29] of Patañjali, who was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (*circa* 187-151 B.C.) and no doubt also of some of the later rulers of the Maurya dynasty, speaks of Greek invasions, apparently under the same Bactrian monarch, of the cities of Sāketa (near Ayodhyā in the present Faizabad District, U.P.) and Madhyamikā (near Chitorgadh in Rajasthan). Strabo (*circa* 54 B.C.-24 A.D.), who refers to the authority of Apollodorus of Artemita, says that the Bactrian kings 'got possession not only of Patalene (the lower Indus delta) but also of the kingdom of Saraostos (Surāṣṭra, *i.e.* Kathiawar or South Kathiawar) and Sigerdis (possibly Sāgaradvīpa meaning Kutch).'[30] He further says that these successors of Alexander the Great advanced beyond the Hyphanis (Vipāśā) as far as the Ganges and Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra).[31] Certain Sanskrit grammatical works refer to a city called Dattāmitrī (associated with Dattamitra, possibly an Indian form of Greek *Demetrius*) which belonged to the Sauvīra country in the lower Indus valley to the east of the river.[32]

Some scholars believe that the Bactrian Greeks led their invasion against Pāṭaliputra under the leadership of Menander and not of Demetrius.[33] Indeed the *Stūpāvadāna* in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* contains a tradition about the construction of a Stūpa at Pāṭaligrāma by Milinda (Menander).[34] But the *Yugapurāṇa* assigns the Greek invasion of Pāṭaliputra shortly after Maurya Śāliśūka's death about 200 B.C. and speaks of the return of the Greeks from Madhyadeśa to their own land in Uttarāpatha owing to the outbreak of a civil war which apparently refers to the struggle between Demetrius and Eucratides. It also seems to mention Dhamamīta (Demetrius). Menander, on the other hand, seems to have flourished not earlier than the second half of the second century B.C., though he also may have led a second invasion against Pāṭaliputra about the close of that century and this may have led to the transference of the Śuṅga headquarters to Malwa.[35]

It may be pointed out in this connection that the Greek geographer Ptolemy recognises Euthymedia (possibly a mistake for *Ethydemia* coined after the name of Euthydemus, father of Demetrius) as another name for Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab) which was the capital of the Indo-Greek king Menander or Milinda according to the Buddhist work *Milindapañha*.[36] The *Periplus* again speaks of Greek relics 'such as ancient shrines, walls of forts and great wells' in the Kathiawar region as late as the eighth decade of the first century A.D.[37] The author of this work also says that the coins of the Indo-Greek kings Apollodotus and Menander were in use in his time at the port of Broach on the mouth of the Narmadā.[38] All this shows that considerable parts of Western India were occupied by the Bactrian Greeks. But, as already indicated above, whether the dominions of the Indo-Greeks included any part of modern Malwa cannot be determined. East Malwa was, however, outside their empire and Antialcidas, the Indo-Greek king of the Taxila region, is known to have sent an ambassador to the court of king Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā, who has been identified with the fifth of the ten Śuṅga kings mentioned in the Purāṇas. The Śuṅga and Indo-Greek kings appear to have allied themselves to repel Menander's aggression against both of them.[39]

Parthia (modern Khorasan), originally a part of the Seleucid empire, became an independent kingdom about the middle of the third century B.C. The powerful Parthian king Mithradates I (*circa* 171-136 B.C.) extended Parthian suzerainty as far as the lower Indus in the east. About this time, sometime after 165 B.C. according to Chinese sources, a nomadic people named Yue-chi occupied the Śaka land to the north of the Jaxartes and also the whole of Sogdiana lying to the south and south-west of that river, driving the Śakas into Bactria to the south of the Oxus. Some years later, the Yue-chi crossed the Oxus, dispersed the Śakas and occupied the whole land upto the Hindukush in the south. As a result of this dispersal of the Śakas, the main movement of the displaced Śakas, checked by the Greek kingdom in the Kabul valley, went westwards towards Herat and thence southwards into Seistan. The Parthian emperors who were then in possession of Eastern Iran struggled hard with the Scythians, and Pharaates II (136-128 B.C.) and Artabanus I (128-123 B.C.) lost their lives in the strife. It was Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) who finally subdued the Śakas. The tide of Scythian movement thus checked by the Parthians, ultimately flowed towards the valley of the Indus. But many of the Śaka chiefs acknowledged Parthian suzerainty and some of them entered the Parthian army and came to East Iran in the train of the Parthian governors of those regions. Many of these Śakas were also connected by blood relations with Parthian or Persian families.

About the middle of the first century B.C., a Parthian chief named Vonones (*circa* 58-18 B.C.), who seems to have been originally the governor of East Iran, founded, according to numismatic evidence, an independent kingdom in the eastern part of the Parthian empire. As the foundation of Parthian monarchy was associated with the beginning of an era (starting from 247 B.C.) meant to oust the imperial Seleucid era of 312 B.C., the establishment of the Parthian kingdom in East Iran about 58 B.C. seems to have synchronised with the commencement of a new era. We shall see later how this era ultimately spread over extensive areas of India and became famous as the Vikrama-Saṁvat.

The Śaka chief Maues (Moga or Moa, *circa* 20 B.C.-22 A.D.), who founded Scythian suzerainty over wide regions of Western and North-Western India, was at first probably a subordinate of Vonones. When Vonones was overthrown in East Iran by Spalirises, Maues seems to have assumed independence in his Indian possessions which comprised the lower Indus valley, the old North-West Frontier Province, Mathurā (under a Satrap named Rañjuvula) and other areas. The inscriptions of the time of Maues and his successors are dated in the East Iranian era of 58 B.C. referred to above. Azes I (*circa* 5 B.C.—30 A.D.) who was probably the son of Spalirises of East Iran and the son-in-law and successor of Maues, conquered the Eastern Punjab from the Greeks. Azes II (*circa* 35-79 A.D.), who may have been the grandson of Azes I, lost most of his territories in the valley of the Indus to the Parthian monarch Gondophernes (*circa* 21-50 A.D.), originally a ruler of Southern Afghanistan possibly under the king of East Iran. Gondophernes also conquered Central Afghanistan from the Greeks. But the Parthians and Scythians in Afghanistan and India were soon subdued by the Kuṣāṇas who were a branch of the Yue-chi.

The Kuṣāṇa king Kujula Kadphises (*circa* 15-65 A.D.), originally a subordinate of the Greek king of Kabul, conquered Afghanistan from the Parthians and his son and successor, Wema Kadphises (*circa* 65-75 A.D.), conquered parts of India. During the reign of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka

I (78-102 A.D.), who was the founder of an era that has been identified by many scholars with the Śaka era of 78 A.D., the Kuṣāṇa empire included wider areas of North India and Central Asia. The Indian possessions of Kaniṣka I appear to have extended upto Bihar in the east and the Northern Konkan in the south. The inclusion of Malwa in the Kuṣāṇa empire is indicated by the Sanchi inscription (106 A.D.) of Vāsiṣka who was the successor of Kaniṣka I. But the south-western part of the Kuṣāṇa empire including Malwa was ruled by viceroys of Śaka nationality. During the weak rule of the successors of Kaniṣka I, these Śakas gradually began to rule almost independently.

The Śaka occupation of the western part of Northern India was principally the work of the Scythians of East Iran. The name Sakastān (medieval Sijistān, modern Seistān) in the eastern part of Iran and its capital Minnagara (the city of Min), which are mentioned by Isidor of Charax about the beginning of the first century A.D., are both also found in the Indian possessions of the Śakas. The *Periplus* (*circa* 80-82 A.D.) mentions the district of Scythia (*i.e.* Sakastān or the land of the Śakas) in the lower valley of the Indus and also its capital Minnagara.[40] The same district is mentioned by Ptolemy (*circa* 145 A.D.) as Indo-Scythia (*i.e.* the Indian Sakastān) which comprised Patalene (the Indus delta), Abiria (the Ābhīra country between Scythia on the lower Indus and the coast country of Surastrene according to the *Periplus*) and Syrastrene (Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar).[41] When the *Periplus* was written, Minnagara, capital of Scythia on the lower Indus, was under Parthian occupation. The Parthian princes occupying Minnagara are represented as 'constantly driving each other out'.

The *Periplus* also refers to a powerful king named Mambarus who had his capital at another Minnagara and was probably a Scythian.[42] The family of Mambarus appears to have been originally subordinate to the Śaka emperors, but later, after the Imperial Śakas had lost their dominions including the lower Indus valley, to the Parthians and then to the Kuṣāṇas. The *Periplus* says, "Beyond the gulf of Baraca (Dvārakā) is that of Barygaza (Broach) and the coast country of Ariaca (Aparānta including Lāṭa or the area round Nausari in the Surat District) which is the beginning of the kingdom of Mambarus and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria (the Ābhīra country) and the coast is called Syrastrene (Surāṣṭra or Kathiawar)."[43] Thus the kingdom of Mambarus seems to have comprised Gujarat (including Kathiawar) and parts of Rajasthan. But the reference in the *Periplus* to Kalyāṇa in the Thana District being at first in the possession of the elder Saraganus (Śātakarṇi I) and later in that of Sandares, when the port was much obstructed and Greek ships were liable to be taken to Barygaza under guard, may point to the Scythian occupation of the Northern Konkan about the middle of the first century A.D. As already suggested, Sandares may have been a viceroy of Mambarus in the Northern Konkan, possibly conquered by the Śakas from the Śātavāhanas. Whether the dominions of Mambarus included any part of Malwa cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

III

THE KṢAHARĀTA-ŚAKAS AND THE LATER ŚĀTAVĀHANAS[44]

Towards the close of the first century A.D., the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka I appears to have extended his suzerainty over Central and Western India. The ruling house represented by Mambarus probably offered allegiance to him. We do not know whether the Kṣaharātas, who apparently belonged to the Scythian stock and ruled Western India as Satraps of Kaniṣka I and his successors, were members of the family of Mambarus.

The earliest Kṣaharāta Satrap in charge of the south-western part of the empire of Kaniṣka's house was Bhūmaka. He is known only from his coins.[45] No details of Bhūmaka's rule are known. Whether he issued coins during the life time of Kaniṣka I or after the latter's death when the hold of the Kuṣāṇas on the outlying provinces of the empire was growing feeble, cannot be ascertained. Bhūmaka's coins have been found in the coastal regions of Gujarat (including Kathiawar) as well as in Malwa and the Ajmer region of Rajasthan. The fact that both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī have been used in the legends of Bhūmaka's coins appears to suggest that the territories in his charge not only included regions like Malwa and Gujarat (including Kathiawar) where the Brāhmī script was prevalent but also some tracts about Western Rajasthan and Sind where the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet appears to have been in use. There are traces of Greek legend on the coins of the early Satraps of Western India. This may point to the influence and popularity of the Indo-Greek coinage in Indo-Scythia, to which reference is made, as noted above, in the *Periplus*. We also know that the coins of Maues and his successors were imitated from the Indo-Greek coin-types and bore legends in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī. Some writers associate the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script on the early Satrapal issues of Western India with the northern origin of the Satraps.[46]

Satrap Bhūmaka appears to have been succeeded by another Satrap named Nahapāna belonging to the same Kṣaharāta family. Nothing, however, is as yet known in regard to the relations that may have existed between the two Satraps. Nahapāna is known from his coins as well as from a number of inscriptions.[47] The dates of his inscriptions range between the years 41 and 46 of an era. This era is apparently no other than Kaniṣka's reckoning, *i.e.* the Śaka era. Thus Nahapāna's known reign period is 119-24 A.D. In the earlier inscriptions, Nahapāna is called a *Kṣatrapa* (Satrap) while in the inscription of the year 46, he is described as a *Mahākṣatrapa* (Great Satrap). In all these records, however, Nahapāna is also called a *Rājan* which may possibly indicate a position superior to that enjoyed by his predecessor Bhūmaka. On his coins, Nahapāna is called

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Rājan without any mention of the titles *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa.* An interesting point to be noted is that no reference to the overlord of Satrap Nahapāna is made in any of the inscriptions. He thus seems to have been ruling almost as an independent king without openly disavowing his allegiance to the Kuṣāṇa emperors. The Kārdamaka Śakas, who succeeded the Kṣaharātas in Western India, also enjoyed the Satrapal designation together with the title *Rājan* (rarely *Mahārāja*).

The silver coins of Nahapāna were imitated as regards size, weight and fabric from a coin-type of the Indo-Greek kings. In these respects, Nahapāna's coins set a standard which was followed by the Śakas of Western India for three centuries and, later, by the Guptas and the Traikūṭakas. The obverse type of this coinage, viz. the bust of the issuing king,[48] was derived from the same source as well as from the Roman gold and silver coins imported in India. According to the *Periplus,* the Roman coins yielded a profit when exchanged for native money at the port of Broach.[49] This type, together with the legend in Greek characters which later degenerated into a sort of ornamental border, became a feature of the coins in question.

Numismatic evidence suggests roughly that Nahapāna's dominions comprised the wide area from Ajmer in the north to Northern Maharashtra in the south. His coins have been found in the Ajmer area in Rajasthan and in the Nasik District of the Maratha country as well as in the intervening regions including Malwa. Western Malwa was apparently included in his kingdom. Although this cannot be said with certainty in regard to East Malwa, Nahapāna's rule over that region appears very probable. The wide extent of Nahapāna's dominions is also indicated by epigraphic evidence.

An inscription[50] of an *Amātya* of Nahapāna has been found at Junnar in the Poona District of Maharashtra, while a number of inscriptions[51] belonging to the Hinduised Śaka chief Ṛṣabhadatta, son of Dīnika and son-in-law of Nahapāna, have been discovered in the caves at Nasik and at

Karle in the Poona District. Ṛṣabhadatta was the husband of Nahapāna's daughter Dakṣamitrā and the ruler of the southern districts of his father-in-law's dominions. The districts of Govardhana (Nasik) and Māmāla (Poona) were under Ṛṣabhadatta's jurisdiction, although he may have also ruled over Southern Gujarat and the Northern Konkan. While referring to the benefactions of the Śaka chief, inscriptions speak of Kāpūra (in the old Baṛoda State), Prabhāsa (in Southern Kathiawar), Bhṛgukaccha (Broach), Daśapura (Mandasor in West Malwa), Śūrpāraka (in the Thana District of Maharashtra) and Puṣkara (near Ajmer in Rajasthan) as well as of the rivers Tāpī, Barṇāśā (Banas, a tributary of the Chambal), Pārādā (Par in the Surat District), Damana (Damangaṅgā near Daman) and Dahanukā (Dahanu in the Thana District).[52] It is, however, possible that Ṛṣabhadatta visited some of the holy places outside his viceregal state as a pilgrim. But it is very probable that Malwa, Gujarat (including Kathiawar), Northern Konkan, North Maharashtra and parts of Rajasthan and the lower Indus valley lay within the dominions of his father-in-law Nahapāna. The Nasik and Poona Districts may have been conquered from the Śātavāhanas of Pratiṣṭhāna by Nahapāna himself; but some of the northern areas of the old Śātavāhana empire must have been conquered by his predecessors. The great impression created by Nahapāna on the minds of the people is indicated by the fact that the Puranic chroniclers describe a Nāga king of Vidiśā of about the third century A.D. as 'the second Nakhavat (i.e. Nahapāna)'.[53]

In an inscription[54] from Nasik, Ṛṣabhadatta is said to have gone, at the command of the *Bhaṭṭāraka* (i.e. his overlord) to relieve the chief of the Uttamabhadra tribe, who was besieged by the Mālayas (Mālavas) then living in the Uniyara region of Rajasthan. The Śaka chief is further said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mālavas and to have gone to the Puṣkara lake near Ajmer for a ceremonial bath in its waters. It is not known whether the overlord referred to was the Satrap Nahapāna or his Kuṣāṇa master.

There is, however, no doubt that the Ajmer region of Rajasthan lay within the sphere of Nahapāna's influence.

About the close of the first quarter of the second century A.D., Nahapāna was defeated and killed by the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who thus succeeded in recovering the lost northern territories of the old Śātavāhana empire. Jain tradition has preserved the memory of the struggle between the Śaka and Śātavāhana rulers. Jinadāsagaṇin (assigned to the 7th century A.D.) in his commentary on a *gāthā* of the *Āvaśyakasūtraniryukti* (ascribed to Bhadrabāhu who is supposed to have flourished between 58 B.C. and 150 A.D.) says, "Nahavāhana (*Nahavāna*=Nahapāna in the *gāthā*) ruling at Bharukaccha (Broach) possessed immense wealth; he was a contemporary of Śālavāhana (Śātavāhana) who ruled at Paiṭhāna (Pratiṣṭhāna) and possessed a huge army." The commentator further refers to the frequent attacks of Śālavāhana on Bharukaccha which he is stated to have ultimately occupied.[55]

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*circa* 106-30 A.D.) is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions as *Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nisūdana* and *Śātavāhana-kula-yaśaḥ-pratiṣṭhāpanakara*, i.e. as the destroyer of the Scythians, Indo-Greeks and Parthians and as the establisher of the fame of the Śātavāhana family.[56] His outstanding achievement was the extirpation of the Kṣaharāta-Śaka family to which Nahapāna belonged. The hoard of coins found at Jogalthembi in the Nasik District shows that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi restruck the coins of Nahapāna and no other later ruler of the Kṣaharāta dynasty which he claimed to have uprooted.[57] Thus there is no doubt that Nahapāna and Gautamīputra were contemporaries. The Śātavāhana king captured one of the Satrap's treasuries and restruck the latter's coins for recirculation. According to epigraphic evidence, the overthrow of Nahapāna by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi took place about 124 A.D. which is the last known date of the Satrap.

A Nasik inscription[58] dated in the eighteenth regnal year of Gautamīputra records the grant of a piece of land that is stated to have been formerly in the possession of Ṛṣabhadatta, no doubt the Śaka chief of that name who was Nahapāna's son-in-law and governor of the southern districts of the *Kṣatrapa's* dominions. The order regarding the Sātavāhana king's grant was issued from a victorious camp of the Sātavāhana army that is described as gaining success and king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is represented as stationed at the time at a place in the Govardhana (Nasik) district. There is hardly any doubt that Gautamīputra's presence in the Nasik region at the head of an army was connected with his campaign against the Kṣaharātas. The expedition led to the liberation of the Upper Deccan as well as of considerable parts of Central and Western India. The transference of authority in the Northern Maratha country is also indicated by the fact that a village named Karajika in the Māmāla (Poona) district was originally granted by Ṛṣabhadatta, but later re-granted by Gautamīputra.[59] Among the countries that were under Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's rule according to a Nasik inscription, Aparānta (Northern Konkan), Anūpa (the Māndhātā or Maheshwar area on the Narmadā), Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar or its southern part), Kukura (in Gujarat about the Kathiawar region), Ākara (East Malwa) and Avanti (West Malwa) were apparently conquered from Nahapāna.

In the list of countries forming parts of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's empire, mention is made, besides the above territories, of Ṛṣika (round Ṛṣikanagara on the Kṛṣṇā), Aśmaka (round Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of Andhra Pradesh), Mūlaka (round Paithan on the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra) and Vidarbha (Berar). The Sātavāhana empire under Gautamīputra thus extended over the whole land from Malwa and Kathiawar in the north to the Kṛṣṇā in the south and from the Konkan in the west to Berar in the east. But Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is also described as the lord of the Vindhya (Central and Eastern Vindhya together with the Satpura), Ṛkṣavat (part of the Vindhyan range to the south of Malwa), Pāriyātra (Western Vindhyas together with the Aravalli), Sahya (Western Ghats to the north of the Nilgiris), Malaya (Travancore Hills), Mahendra (Eastern Ghats) and other mountain ranges. He therefore claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of trans-Vindhyan India. The claim must have originated from the conventional idea of *dig-vijaya* or the conquest of the *cakravartikṣetra.* The sphere of influence of a *cakravartin* or imperial ruler was the whole of India; but sometimes northern and southern India were separately regarded as the *cakravarti-kṣetra* respectively for northern and southern rulers.[60] Gautamīputra's claim that his chargers drank the waters of the three seas (i.e. the Bay of Bengal in the east, the Indian Ocean in the south and the Arabian Sea in the west) refers to his claim of sovereignty over South India bounded by the seas.[61] But the identification of Gautamīputra with the Śakāri Vikramāditya of Indian tradition and folklore, as will be seen below, is entirely unwarranted.

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, however, seems to have enjoyed his success against the Kṣaharātas only for a few years. He died about 130 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Puḷumāvi or Puḷumāyi. But, before his death, Gautamīputra seems to have lost most of the northern territories he had conquered from the Kṣaharātas to another line of Scythian rulers known as the Kārdamakas. In the south-western province of their empire, the Kuṣāṇa emperors appear to have appointed the Kārdamakas as the successors of the Kṣaharātas on the latter's extirpation by the Śātavāhana king.

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[1] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity,* Bombay, pp. 191ff.

[2] During the rule of the last Maurya, there seems to have been rivalry between his *Saciva* and *Senāpati.* The former's partisan became the ruler of Vidarbha and the latter's son the viceroy of Vidiśā. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.,* pp. 309-10.

[3] See *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 172, 187, 198.

[4] There are various other theories regarding the original home of the Śātavāhanas; but they are all based on unsatisfactory evidence. The name of the family is also spelt as *Sātavāhana* just as the name Śātakarṇi or Sātakarṇi. For Ariace of the Sadenoi, see Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins,* pp. 115ff.

[5] VII. 18.

[6] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 37, text line 10.

[7] Cf. *Kāṇvāyanam = ath = oddhṛtya Suśarmāṇaṁ prasahya tam/Sindhu(mu)ko hy = Andhra-jātīyaḥ pāpsyat = īmāṁ Vasundharam// Śuṅgānāṁ c = āpi yae = chiṣṭaṁ kṣapayitvā balaṁtadā//* (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

[8] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* says: *hatvā Kāṇvaṁ Suśarmāṇaṁ tad-bhṛtyo vṛṣalo balī*, etc., while the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* also has *Suśarmāṇaṁ Kāṇvaṁ ca bhṛtyo balāt*, etc. (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 38, note 2).

[9] There is a group of earlier writers who believed that Simuka began to rule about 225 B.C. This view is based on the Puranic statement that the Andhras reigned altogether for about 450 years and that the Śātavāhana dynasty ended its rule in the area about the Krishna District about 225 A.D. Unfortunately, the duration of Andhra rule is given variously in conflicting Puranic statements as 300, 411 (412 or 456) and 460 years. There is some reason to believe that about 19 kings of the main branch of the family ruled for about 300 years while about 30 kings, belonging to various branches, ruled collectively for about 460 years. Scions of the family may have been ruling in different regions even after the end of the Śātavāhana rule in the Krishna District about 225 A.D.

[10] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 185, note 2; p. 186, note 1; p. 206, note 1.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

[13] See below, Lecture VI.

[14] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 186ff.

[15] *N. Ind. Ant.*, F. W. Thomas Vol., pp. 291ff.

[16] Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. xciiff.

[17] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206ff.

[18] See Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 43; cf. Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, pp. 119ff.

[19] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 404; see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 179; cf. Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, p. 116.

[20] Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. lxvi-lxvii.

[21] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 186ff.

[22] Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[23] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 185.

[24] See Rapson, *loc. cit.*

[25] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 101ff.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 103; Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

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[27] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1ff.
[28] *JRAS*, 1963, p. 13.
[29] Under Pāṇini, III. ii. 111; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII. p. 267.
[30] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 106; *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 445.
[31] Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, p. 257.
[32] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 319.
[33] Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, pp. 227, 239.
[34] *JRAS*, 1963, p. 20.
[35] *Loc. cit.*
[36] *Geog.*, VII. i. 46; Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, pp. 3, 14.
[37] Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
[39] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 115-16; *JRAS*, 1963, p. 20.
[40] Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37
[41] *Geog.*, VII. i. 55.
[42] Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 175.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[44] Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 178ff.
[45] Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 63-64.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. civ.
[47] *Ibid.* pp. lvi-lix, 65-70; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 157-66.
[48] The bust of the Gupta and Traikūṭaka kings exhibit little difference from that of the Śaka Satraps. The representation of the Gupta kings on these coins is remarkably different from that on the gold coinage of the Guptas.
[49] Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[50] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 166.
[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 157ff.; Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. lviff. A Karle cave inscription mentions Mitradevaṇaka, son of Ṛṣabhadatta (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 56).
[52] A fragmentary inscription at Nasik seems to add Ujeni (Ujjayinī) to a similar list (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 85; Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, p. lviii).
[53] Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 49.
[54] *Select Inscriptions*. pp. 160ff.
[55] *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, 1930, p. 288. The name *Nahavāhana* was coined from *Nahavāna* on the analogy of *Śātavāhana*.
[56] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 197.
[57] Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 68-70.
[58] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 191ff.
[59] Cf. the Karle cave inscriptions noticed in Rapson's *Catalogue*, pp. xlix, lix.
[60] Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 1ff.
[61] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 197, text line 3.

LECTURE V

THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS AND ŚAKAS IN MALWA—II

IV

THE LATER ŚĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE KĀRDAMAKA-ŚAKAS

The authority of the Kārdamaka-Śakas was established in Western India by Caṣṭana, son of Ẓāmotika. On his earlier coins, Caṣṭana claims to have been a *Kṣatrapa* and, on the later issues, *Mahākṣatrapa*. But, in both cases, he is additionally called a *Rājan*. Caṣṭana's father Zāmotika, however, claimed no royal title. The original home of the Kārdamakas is unknown, although Caṣṭana possibly ruled as a subordinate chief somewhere about the Western fringe of the territory of Nahapāna, the viceroy of the Kuṣāṇas. Some scholars suggest that the name of the family was derived from the Kardama river possibly in Bactria.[1] It seems that Caṣṭana was appointed by the Kuṣāṇa emperor's viceroy of the south-eastern province of their empire in place of Nahapāna, after the latter's death, with instructions to recover the lost areas of the satrapy from the Śātavāhanas. In some provinces of the Scythian and Kuṣāṇa dominions, the viceroy styled *Mahākṣatrapa* was often associated with a junior governor styled *Kṣatrapa*. It is possible that Caṣṭana was made a *Kṣatrapa* when Nahapāna was raised to the rank of *Mahākṣatrapa*.

When Caṣṭana became a *Mahākṣatrapa*, he seems to have selected his son Jayadāman as *Kṣatrapa*. Jayadāman, however, died during the life time of his father and was ap-

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parently succeeded as *Kṣatrapa* by his son Rudradāman I. Inscriptions[2] dated in the Śaka year 52 (130 A.D.) and belonging to the time when *Rājan* Caṣṭana was ruling jointly with *Rājan* Rudradāman have been discovered at Andhau in Kutch. Thus the Kārdamakas were at least on the borders of the expanded empire of the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarni within a few years after the overthrow of Nahapāna. In 130 A.D., Caṣṭana was possibly the *Mahākṣatrapa* and Rudradāman I the *Kṣatrapa*.

As we have seen earlier, there is epigraphic evidence to show that the Kārdamaka-Śakas under Caṣṭana and Rudradāman defeated Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and reconquered most of the northern territories of the Śātavāhana king's dominions originally conquered from Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, In Ptolemy's *Geography*,[3] composed about 145 A.D. with Indian materials apparently collected a few years earlier, Ozéné, *i.e.* the city of Ujjayinī which was the capital of the Avanti country in West Malwa, is mentioned as the headquarters of king Tiastenes, apparently a Greek corruption of Caṣṭana's name.

In the Junagadh inscription[4] of year 72 (150 A.D.), the Kārdamaka king Rudradāman I is represented as the lord of many countries of which Ākara (East Malwa), Avanti (West Malwa), Anūpa (in the valley of the Narmadā), Aparānta (Northern Konkan), Surāṣṭra (Southern Kathiawar) and Ānarta (Northern Kathiawar) must have been conquered from the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. Most of these conquests were probably made when Rudradāman I was still a *Kṣatrapa* under his grandfather Caṣṭana. The same inscription also says that Rudradāman twice defeated a lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha named Śātakarṇi whom he did not destroy owing to the closeness of relations existing between them. This Śātakarṇi, lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, appears to be no other than Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. The close relations between Rudradāman I and Gautamīputra referred to in the Junagadh inscription is explained by the Kanheri inscription[5] according to which a Kārdamaka princess, who was the daughter of the *Mahākṣatrapa* named

Rudra, was married to a ruler named Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi. This Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi was very probably a co-unterine brother of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi and a son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. Rudradāman I also claims to have reinstated certain deposed rulers who may have been Nahapāna's subordinates ousted by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

The earlier coins of Caṣṭana bear the crescent and star symbols while the hill symbol was added to them in his later issues.[6] The hill sign on these coins have been taken by scholars to point to some reconquest of territories previously conquered by the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi from the Kṣaharāta ruler Nahapāna. The suggestion is based on the fact that the symbol is especially noticed on Nahapāna's coins restruck by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi as well as on the silver coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi who flourished in the latter half of the second century A.D. and ruled over some territories previously under the Śakas.

The use of Kharoṣṭhī on the Kārdamaka coins was discontinued after Caṣṭana's rule; but the Greek legend survived in a sort of ornamental fringe around the obverse of the coins. The transference of the Kārdamaka headquarters from the Kharoṣṭhī area to Ujjayinī must have been the cause of the omission of the Kharoṣṭhī script. Jayadāman, who ruled for sometime during the reign of his father Caṣṭana as *Mahākṣatrapa* before 130 A.D., was called both a *Rājan* and a *Kṣatrapa*.

Sometime after 130 A.D., Caṣṭana was succeeded by his grandson Rudradāman I as *Mahākṣatrapa*. The known coins of this king were issued when he was a *Mahākṣatrapa*. Very valuable information regarding the reign of Rudradāman I is supplied by the Junagadh inscription[7] of 150 A.D. The inscription records the reconstruction of a lake called Sudarśana under the supervision of Suviśākha who was a Pahlava officer of the Kārdamaka king. The lake was created by Puṣyagupta, viceroy of the Kathiawar area under the Maurya emperor Candragupta (*circa* 324-299 B.C.), by storing the waters of certain streams running from the Girnar hills, by means of a dam, while irrigation canals from the lake were excavated by the Greek chief Tuṣāspha who governed the Kathiawar region during the reign of Aśoka Maurya (*circa* 272-232 B.C.). The dam which was responsible for the creation of the Sudarśana lake had to be repaired at great costs during the reign of Rudradāman I and later again during that of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.). The history of this lake, situated not far from Girinagara (modern Junagadh), exhibits clearly the great interest that ancient Indian monarchs took in irrigation works for the benefit of the peasants.

As already indicated above, Rudradāman I defeated Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and conquered Malwa, South Gujarat including Kathiawar, the Northern Konkan and the Māhiṣmatī (Māndhātā or Maheshwar) region on the Narmadā. The dominions of the *Mahākṣatrapa* also included Kaccha (Kutch), Śvabhra (the valley of the Sābarmatī), Maru (the Marwar region of Rajasthan), Sindhu (western part of the lower Indus valley), Sauvīra (eastern part of the lower Indus valley) and Niṣāda (probably near the Pāriyātra or the Western Vindhyas and the Aravalli). Thus Rudradāman I, who claims to have gained all these territories by his own valour, ruled over the whole of the Kṣaharāta dominions with the only exception of the Nasik-Poona area of Northern Maharashtra. The above part of the country continued to be under the successors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, possibly as a result of the matrimonial alliance between the Kārdamakas and the later Śātavāhanas. Ujjayinī seems to have been the capital of Rudhradāman I as in the case of his grandfather Caṣṭana.

The republican tribe of the Yaudheyas, who lived in the southern part of the Punjab and the adjoining regions, was disastrously defeated by Rudradāman I possibly on behalf of his Kuṣāṇa overlords. But the absence of any reference to the Kuṣāṇas in the inscriptions of his time as well as the claim that he himself assumed the title *Mahākṣatrapa* appears to suggest that Rudradāman I, ruled almost as an independent monarch. Rudradāman's good rule is said to have freed his dominions from disease, robbers, wild beasts and other pests. He is credited with the enjoyment of royal fortune from the time when he was in his mother's womb. The real significance of the claim is difficult to determine. But it may be that he was made the nominal governor of a district of his grandfather's territory shortly after his birth.

Rudradāman I was reputed as an administrator and a conqueror as well as a great patron of Classical Sanskrit. A great master of grammar, polity, music and logic, he became famous for his Sanskrit compositions both in prose and verse. That Rudradāman I was regarded as the greatest of the Kārdamaka kings is possibly supported by the fact that the silver coins of the Śakas of Western India was known as *Rudradāmaka Kārṣāpaṇa* as late as the fifth century A.D.[8] Under the patronage of the Kārdamaka kings, the city of Ujjayinī seems to have become a great seat of learning. It is said that Rudradāman I won the hands of many princesses in *svayamvaras*. There is also evidence of the marriage of Kārdamaka girls in the families of the Śātavāhanas of Pratiṣṭhāna, the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī and possibly also the Licchavis of Vaiśālī as we shall see later.

An interesting feature of Kārdamaka rule, as indicated above, is the joint administration of the king as *Mahākṣatrapa* and of his brother or son in the junior capacity of *Kṣatrapa*. Dāmazada or Dāmajadaśrī I, son of Rudradāman I, issued coins as *Kṣatrapa* during the life time of his father; but he became a *Mahākṣatrapa* after Rudradāman's death which took place sometime after 150 A.D. The name of Dāmazada does not occur in the genealogy given in the inscriptions of the time of his brother and nephew. This has been explained by Rapson by the suggestion that, after Dāmazada's death, a struggle for the throne ensued between his brother Rudrasiṁha I and his son Jīvadāman.[9] But, even without such a struggle, there is nothing unnatural in the omission of a collateral branch in inscriptions which usually record only the direct descent from father to son.

As no coin of Jīvadāman as *Kṣatrapa* is known, he does not appear to have been associated with his father's admi-

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nistration. Jīvadāman succeeded his father Dāmazada as *Mahākṣatrapa,* but was soon overthrown by his uncle Rudrasiṁha I.[10] Jīvadaman possibly issued coins as *Mahākṣatrapa* in the Śaka year 100 (178 A.D.) while Rudrasiṁha I issued coins as *Kṣatrapa* in the year 102 (180 A.D.). The Gunda inscription[11] shows that the latter was still a *Kṣatrapa* about the beginning of Śaka 103, although about the end of that year he assumed the title of *Mahākṣatrapa.* The coins of Rudrasiṁha I issued as *Mahākṣatrapa* bear dates ranging between Śaka 103 and 110 (i.e. in 181-88 A.D.) and between Śaka 113 and 118 (i.e. in 191-96 A.D.). It is strange that in the interval between the two periods of his rule as *Mahākṣatrapa,* in Śaka 110-12 (i.e. in 188-190 A.D.), Rudrasiṁha issued coins as *Kṣatrapa.*[12] Epigraphic and numismatic records of the reign of Rudrasiṁha I have been found in Malwa, Kathiawar and Rajasthan. The inscription from Gunda in North Kathiawar, referred to above, speaks of his Ābhīra general named Rudrabhūti who was the son of the general Bāpaka. The successor of Rudrasiṁha I was his nephew Jīvadāman who again issued coins as *Mahākṣatrapa* in 197-98 A.D. About this time, Satyadāman, another son of Dāmazada, was a *Kṣatrapa.* It is, however, difficult to determine whether he served his uncle Rudrasiṁha I or his brother Jīvadāman who first became *Mahākṣatrapa,* but lost the throne for a time and again gained it in his old age. From the time of Jīvadāman and Rudrasiṁha I, the Kārdamaka coins, specially their silver issues, began to bear the year of their issue in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head.

We have referred to the temporary degradation of Rudrasiṁha I from the position of *Mahākṣatrapa* to that of *Kṣatrapa* in 188-90 A.D. Rapson believes that this was due to the success of Jīvadāman who is supposed to have temporarily regained the status of *Mahākṣatrapa* during the period in question.[13] We have, however, no coins of Jīvadāman for the said period. Jīvadāman's early coins of the year 100 depict him as a young man while his portrait on his later issues of the years 119-20 represents him as an old man.

Thus, although there may be evidence for a struggle for the position of *Mahākṣatrapa* between Jīvadāman and Rudrasiṁha I, there is no clear support for Rapson's theory about the temporary degradation of Rudrasiṁha I in 188-90 A.D. Bhandarkar[14] associates Rudrasiṁha's degradation with the temporary rise of a *Mahākṣatrapa* named Īśvaradatta who issued coins during his regnal years 1 and 2. These coins have been found in Kathiawar. Some scholars think that *Mahākṣatrapa* Īśvaradatta was an Ābhīra without, however, no clear proof;[15] but his name as well as the mode of the dating of his coins shows that he did not belong to the Kārdamaka family.

Certain silver coins of Yajña Śātakarṇi imitated from the Śaka coinage led scholars to believe that, about the close of the second century A.D., the said Śātavāhana king deprived the Kārdamakas of some of the southern regions of their dominions.[16] But the recent discovery of the silver coins of Puḷumāvi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, whose wife's inscription at Kanheri in Aparānta is well known, shows that, like Nasik and Poona, Thana may also have been in the possession of the predecessors of Yajña Śātakarṇi.[17]

According to the Puranic lists, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (*circa* 130-59 A.D.) was followed on the Śātavāhana throne successively by Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi (*circa* 159-66 A.D.), Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi (*circa* 166-74 A.D.) and Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi (*circa* 174-203 A.D.). According to numismatic evidence, the metronymic of Śivaśrī was Vāsiṣṭhīputra, while the real name of the Puranic Yajñaśrī was Yajña Śātakarṇi whose inscriptions have been discovered at Nasik and Kanheri in Maharashtra and in the Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh. The coins of Yajña have been found in the Krishna and Godavari Districts of Andhra Pradesh, the Chanda, Akola and Thana Districts of Maharashtra, and Gujarat including Kathiawar. The silver coins of this king which were found at Sopara in the Thana District are closely imitated as regards types, size and weight from the ordinary silver issues of Rudradāmạn I. As stated above, similar coins of his predecessors have recently come to light. Of all Śātavāhana coins, this series alone has the king's head on the obverse and the rayed sun in association with the hill and Ujjayinī symbols on the reverse. We know that the king's head and the symbol of the rayed sun together with the hill sign are constant features of the Śaka coins of Western India. It is therefore evident that the said Śātavāhana kings issued the above coins after having recovered certain territories from the Kārdamakas in the Northern Konkan and the adjoining regions. As Yajña was probably the Śātavāhana contemporary of Nāgārjuna, he appears from the accounts in Hiuen-tsang's *Si-Yu-Ki*[18] and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[19] to have annexed to his empire the Dakṣiṇa-Kosala country about the Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh. Probably the success of *Mahākṣatrapa* Īśvaradatta was mainly due to the help that he might have received from the Śātavāhana king Yajña-Śātakarṇi. Both Īśvaradatta and Yajña may have exploited the situation that resulted from the civil war between Rudrasiṁha I and Jīvadāman.

That Vijaya Śātakarṇi, successor of Yajña according to the Purāṇas, ruled over a fairly wide area is now indicated by his coins in the Tarhala hoard discovered in the Akola District of Maharashtra and his inscription of the sixth regnal year found at Nagarjunikonda in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh.[19a] But the latest members of the family do not appear to have hold over the entire kingdom; some of them ruled over the north-eastern and others over the southern districts, while, in the western areas, erstwhile viceroys raised their head. Soon afterwards, we find the kingdoms of the Ikṣvākas, Ābhīras and Vākāṭakas on the ruins of the Śātavāhana empire respectively in the south, north-west and north.

V

THE LATER KĀRDAMAKAS[20]

Rudrasena I, son of Rudrasiṁha I, succeeded Jīvadāman as *Mahākṣatrapa*. He issued coins as *Kṣatrapa* in the Śaka year 121 (199 A.D.), although, according to an inscription[21] from Mulwasar near Dwarka, he secured the position of *Mahākṣatrapa* about the beginning of the same year. Some clay seals of his sister Prabhudamā have been found at Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar).[22] The Kārdamaka princess Prabhudamā was possibly married to a chief of the Licchavis who appear to have ruled in North Bihar before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. An inscription[23] of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasena I, probably dated in the year 127 (205 A.D.) has been found at Garha near Jasdan in Kathiawar. In the year 144 (222 A.D.), he was succeeded as *Mahākṣatrapa* by his brother Saṅghadāman who had a short rule of two years (Śaka 144-45 = 232-33 A.D.). Coins issued by the *Kṣatrapas* of this period are rare. Pṛthivīsena, son of Rudrasena I, is known to have ruled as *Kṣatrapa* in the year 144 (232 A.D.). It is, however, unknown whether he was a subordinate of his father or his uncle Saṅghadāman.

Saṅghadāman's successor as *Mahākṣatrapa* was his brother Dāmasena, another son of Rudrasiṁha I. Coins of *Mahākṣatrapa* Dāmasena bear dates ranging between the years 145 (223 A.D.) and 158 (236 A.D.) The earliest known date on the coins of his son Yaśodāman issued as *Mahākṣatrapa* is the year 160 (238 A.D.). Rapson[24] was inclined to place the short reign of *Mahākṣatrapa* Īśvaradatta between the end of the reign of Dāmasena and the beginning of that of Yaśodāman. But, as suggested above, Īśvaradatta may have ruled at an earlier date. Dāmasena seems to have ended his reign not long before the year 160. During Dāmasena's reign as *Mahākṣatrapa*, his nephew Dāmajadaśrī II, son of Rudrasena I, issued coins as *Kṣatrapa* in the years 154-55 (232-33 A.D.). Vīradāman, son of Dāmasena, succeeded Dāmajadaśrī as *Kṣatrapa* and issued coins in the period of years 156-60 (234-38 A.D.).

The potin coinage of the Kārdamaka kings, usually attributed to Malwa or some part of that country, appears to have been discontinued after the reign of *Mahākṣatrapa* Dāmasena. Numismatists associate the potin currency with the *Mahākṣatrapas*. The *Kṣatrapas,* who are believed to have held sway in Kathiawar and Gujarat and not in any part of Malwa, did not issue coins in potin. It has been pointed out that the discontinuation of the potin currency may have been caused by either of the facts that about this time the Kārdamaka *Mahākṣatrapas* lost their hold on parts of Malwa or that the potin coinage circulating in Malwa was about this time superceded by the more widely used silver currency. Rapson is in favour of the second alternative.[25] He points out that the establishment of the silver currency of the Kārdamakas in Malwa is presupposed by the subsequent introduction of similar coinages by the Guptas and Hūṇas in that region.

The third century, however, was not a period of prosperity for the Kārdamakas. There were internal dissentions among the Śakas of Western India, who were moreover threatened by the Mālavas from the north and the Ābhīras from the south. The Sanchi and Eran inscriptions[26] of the Śaka *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Śrīdharavarman show that this Śaka chief, who may originally have been a governor of the Kārdamakas in East Malwa, began to rule independently with the designation *Mahākṣatrapa* about the end of his career. Śrīdharavarman, who was a devotee of the god Mahāsena, claimed to have been a *dharma-vijayin*. The Sanchi inscription is dated in his thirteenth regnal year as well as in the Śaka year 201 (279 A.D.) while the Eran epigraph belongs to his twentyseventh regnal year. We have also now the seal-inscription[27] of a foreign ruler named Avariza who seems to have flourished about the same period not very far from the Malwa region. Inscriptions[28] of 226 A.D. at Nandsa in the old Udaipur State of Rajasthan describe how freedom and prosperity returned by that time to the land of the Mālavas, then living in Rajasthan, as a result of the brilliant achievements of a Mālava chief, named Nandisoma of the Sogin clan. This seems to indicate that the Kārdamakas lost some of their territories in Rajasthan to the Mālavas. In the south, the Ābhīras under Īśvarasena established a powerful kingdom in Northern Maharashtra and the adjoining regions and started their own era from 248-49 A.D.[29] An inscription[30] of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa, dated in the year 30 of the said era, has been recently found at Nagarjunikonda and it mentions one of the king's officers as Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti. Under this king, the Ābhīras became the strongest power in Western India. The Nāgas of Vidiśa (Besnagar near Bhilsa in East Malwa) and Padmāvatī (Padam Pawaya near Narwar in the old Gwalior State) appear also to have been aggressive neighbours of the Kārdamakas by the middle of the third century A.D.

Four sons of Dāmasena are known to have ruled as *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahākṣatrapa* or as both. Vīradāman, son of Dāmasena, was succeeded by his brother Yaśodāman in the year 160 (238 A.D.) as *Kṣatrapa*. But Yaśodāman assumed the dignity of *Mahākṣatrapa* later in the same year and his brother Vijayasena became *Kṣatrapa*. Yaśodāman ruled as *Mahākṣatrapa* in the period 160-61 (238-39 A.D.) and was succeeded by Vijayasena who issued coins as *Mahākṣatrapa* in the period 161-72 (239-50 A.D.). A large number of Vijayasena's coins have been found in Rajasthan and Gujarat including Kathiawar. He was succeeded as *Mahākṣatrapa* by his brother Dāmajadaśrī III who was another son of Dāmasena. The dates on the coins of Dāmajadaśrī III range between the year 173 (251 A.D.) and 177 (255 A.D.). There are no coins issued by a *Kṣatrapa* in the period *circà* 240-75, although it cannot be ascertained whether the office of the *Kṣatrapa* was really in abeyance.

The successor of Dāmajadaśrī III as *Mahākṣatrapa* was his nephew Rudrasena II who was a son of Vīrdāman. The coins of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasena II are found in great abundance. Their dates range between the years 177 (255 A.D.) and 198 (276 A.D.). He may have actually ended his rule a few years later than 276 A.D. Kārdamaka Rudrasena II seems to have been matrimonially related to the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta (third quarter of the third century) of the Krishna-Guntur region. One of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions[31] mentions Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā, apparently a queen of Vīrapuruṣadatta, as the daughter of the *Mahārāja* of Ujjayinī. Another Śaka princess named Varmabhaṭā was a queen of Śāntamūla II, son and successor of Vīrapuruṣadatta. She is described in a Nagarjunikonda inscription[32] as a daughter of the *Mahākṣatrapa* and as belonging to the Bṛhatphala-gotra. Thus the Hinduised Kārdamaka-Sakas appear to have adopted the unorthodox Bṛhatphala-gotra like an Aryanised Dravidian king of the Krishna District known as Jayavarman Bṛhatphalāyana.[33] About the same time, a king named Rudradāmaśrī is known from an inscription[34] from Agiabir in the Mirzapur District to have ruled in the eastern areas of U.P. He was probably the scion of a local ruling family, though his name seems to suggest that his mother was a Kārdamaka princess of Western India.

Viśvasiṁha, son of Rudrasena II, issued coins as *Kṣatrapa* between the years 197 (275 A.D.) and 200 (278 A.D.). He was succeeded as *Kṣatrapa* by his brother Bhartṛdāman and himself became *Mahākṣatrapa* in the year 200 (278 A.D.) The earliest definite date on the coins of Bhartṛdāman as *Mahākṣatrapa* in succession to his brother is the year 204 (282 A.D.). He ruled at least upto the year 217 (295 A.D.). Bhartṛdāman's son Viśvasena issued coins only as *Kṣatrapa* in the period between the year 215 (293 A.D.) and 226 (304 A.D.). Bhartṛdāman is the last *Mahākṣatrapa* and his son Viśvasena the last *Kṣatrapa*, who are definitely known to have belonged to Caṣṭana's line. The title of *Mahākṣatrapa* remained in abeyance for a long time after Bhartṛdāman till the year 270 (348 A.D.). In the year 226 (304 A.D.), however, coins were issued by a *Kṣatrapa* named Rudrasiṁha II, who was the son of a person of non-monarchical rank named Jīvadāman. The relation of the new *Kṣatrapa* with the earlier *Kṣatrapas* and *Mahākṣatrapas* of Caṣṭana's house cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It is not improbable that *Mahākṣatrapa* Bhartṛdāman and *Kṣatrapa* Viśvasiṁha were subdued by the Ābhīras of Western India and the Sassanian monarchs of Persia who about this time appear to have extended their influence over considerable parts of Western and North-Western India. Although the reign of the Śaka

Mahākṣatrapa is found over Western India including Malwa again after some decades, the power and prestige of the Kārdamaka-Śakas gradually declined and ultimately collapsed about the close of the fourth century A.D.

VI

END OF ŚAKA SUZERAINTY IN WESTERN INDIA

Kaṇiṣka I (78-102 A.D.) was followed on the Kuṣāṇa throne by Vāsiṣka (102-06 A.D.), Huviṣka (106-38 A.D.), Kaṇiṣka II (119 A.D.) and Vāsudeva I (142-76 A.D.). The division of power between some of these rulers who reigned jointly seems to have led to the decay of Kuṣāṇa power. But during the rule of the above successors of Kaṇiṣka I, the Kuṣāṇa overlords appear to have exercised some sort of control, however feeble, over the Śaka Satraps of Western India. But the hold of the successors of Vāsudeva I must have become still feebler on the outlying provinces of the empire and the Śakas of Western India became almost independent rulers of their territories. According to Yu-houan, author of the *Wei-lio*, the Kuṣāṇas were exercising complete control over the Punjab, the old North-west Frontier Province and Afghanistan till about the middle of the third century A.D.[35] and apparently, during that period, the former feudatories of the Kuṣāṇa emperors owed at least nominal allegiance to their erstwhile overlords. The power and prestige of the Kuṣāṇas, however, began to decline rapidly with the foundation of the Sassanian empire in Persia by Ardashīr I Babagan (226-41 A.D.). It is said that Ardashīr I conquered Balkh, Khorasan and Kabul and advanced as far as Sirhind beyond the Satlej in the Eastern Punjab.[36] A coin of that monarch has been discovered in the Jhelam District of the Punjab.[37] Even if the evidence of the tradition referred to above and the discovery of the coin may not be regarded as decisive evidence, it is probable that, towards the close of his career, Ardashīr I was in a position to consider his Kuṣāṇa contemporary as one of his subordinate allies.[38]

The Paikuli inscription, which may be assigned to the close of the third century A.D., is believed by some scholars to mention certain Indian rulers including those of the Surāṣṭras, Avantis, Kuṣāṇas, Śakas and Ābhīras as feudatories or subordinate allies of the Sassanian emperors.[39] Sassanian Hormazd II (301-10 A.D.) married the daughter of a Kuṣāṇa king. On some of his coins, he claims to have been the 'lord of the Kuṣāṇas' and 'lord of the Kuṣāṇa rulers'. The Kuṣāṇa coin devices of Śiva, his bull and the Indian altar were adopted by Hormazd II on his own coins. Some later Kuṣāṇa coins are believed to have been counter-struck with Sassanian devices. A Pahlavī inscription from Persepolis, which possibly belongs to the early years of Shāpūr II (310-79 A.D.), speaks of the Sassanian governor of Sakastān as the 'king of the Sakas' and 'the minister of ministers of Hind (India), Sakastān and Tukhāristān'. Shāpūr's victory over the Romans at the siege of Amida in 360 A.D. was gained with the help received from the aged king named Grumbates who is usually believed to have been a Kuṣāṇa. Some coins of the Sassanian type and fabric which bear legends in early Nāgarī, Sassanian Pahlavī and an uncertain script which may be a modification of the Greek alphabet have been assigned to certain Sassanian or Scytho-Sassanian families holding sway in the Indus valley. About 500 A.D., Cosmas Indicopleustes speaks of the western part of the Indus valley as belonging to Sassanian Persia.[40]

The above facts no doubt suggest that, for sometime, the Kuṣāṇas accepted the supremacy of the Sassanian emperors, although the prominent mention of the Kuṣāṇa monarch in the Allahabad pillar inscription of the middle of the fourth century suggests that the Kuṣāṇas were still regarded as a notable power in North-Western India. The possible mention of the Avanti and Śaka rulers in Sassanian records may likewise suggest that for a time the Śakas of Western India were compelled to transfer their nominal allegiance from the Kuṣāṇas to the Sassanians. But the real facts regarding the relations between the Sassanians and the Śakas of Western India cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient information. As we have seen above, it is not impossible that the decline in Śaka power was due to the rise of the Ābhīras at least partially and not wholly to the encroachment of the Sassanians. The final blow to the existence of these Śakas was, however, inflicted not by the Sassanians or Ābhīras, but by the Guptas of Eastern India.

We have seen how Rudrasiṁha II, son of Svāmi-Jīvadāman, began to rule as *Kṣatrapa* in the year 326 (304 A.D.) when the office of *Mahākṣatrapa* was in abeyance. We have also suggested that the absence of the *Mahākṣatrapa* may not be unconnected with the possible expansion of Sassanian and Ābhīra influence in Western India. The earliest date on the coins of Rudrasiṁha's son, *Kṣatrapa* Yaśodāman II, is the year 238 (316 A.D.). He ruled at least upto the year 254 (332 A.D.). For sometime after this ruler, there is no coin of the Śakas of Western India, either as *Kṣatrapa* or as *Mahākṣatrapa*. It is interesting to note that the coinage was revived after the interval by a *Mahākṣatrapa* and that there is no coin of a *Kṣatrapa* after those of Yaśodāman II.

The earliest date on the coins of *Mahākṣatrapa* Svāmi-Rudrasena III[41] appears to be the year 270 (348 A.D.) or 272 (350 A.D.). His father Svāmi-Rudradāman II was also a *Mahākṣatrapa*, although none of his coins have so far been discovered and his relationship with the earlier Śaka kings cannot be determined. Nothing is known about the duration of the rule of *Mahākṣatrapa* Svāmi-Rudradāman II.

We have both silver and lead coins of *Mahākṣatrapa* Svāmi-Rudrasena III, son of *Mahākṣatrapa* Svāmi-Rudradāman II. His silver coins bearing dates ranging between the year 270 (348 A.D.) and 300 (378 A.D.) fall into two well-marked divisions separated by an interval of thirteen years. The first group of dates fall in the period of years 270-73 and the second group in years 286-300. Rapson seems to be right when he observes, "The period between the dates 273 (351 A.D.) and 286 (364 A.D.), which thus separates the earlier from the later coinage of Rudrasena III, was probably marked by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased."[42] The Uparkot hoard comprising ninety coins of Rudrasena III, all of which belong to the early group of the *Mahākṣatrapa's* coinage supports the above conclusion. Scott, who analysed the Uparkot hoard, also pointed out, "Many of these coins, especially those of the last years, are in mint condition, fresh and unworn. From these facts.... We may fairly conclude that the hoard was secreted at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, and most probably it was because of the revolution which then took place, rendering life and property, insecure, that the money was hidden."[43]

The Eran pillar inscription[44] shows that the mighty Gupta emperor Samudragupta (*circa* 335-76 A.D.) extended his power at least over the eastern parts of Malwa. In his Allahabad pillar inscription,[45] the Gupta monarch claims to have levied tribute from such West Indian powers as the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudheyas, Mādrakas and Ābhīras. More interesting is that, according to the same inscription, Samudragupta extirpated some rulers of Āryāvarta or North India including a certain Rudradeva. It seems that this Rudradeva is no other than the Śaka king Rudrasena III. The political disturbance during the reign of Rudrasena III, suggested by the numismatic evidence discussed above, may thus have been the result of a crushing defeat that the Gupta emperor inflicted on the Śaka king. Samudragupta seems to have annexed the eastern parts of the Śaka dominions, but kept Rudrasena III in possession of the Western districts as his feudatory. The lead coins attributed by Rapson to Rudrasena III or to a 'foreign invader of his kingdom'[46] may have actually been imitation coins issued by Samudragupta. But the Śaka king apparently rose in rebellion sometime before Samudragupta's death, so that there was renewed struggle between the Gupta emperor Candragupta II Vikramāditya, son of Samudragupta, and the Śakas of Western India.[47] As a result of this struggle, the Śakas were finally extirpated and the Gupta empire extended upto the Arabian Sea in the West.

The next *Mahākṣatrapa* was Svāmi-Siṁhasena who was a sister's son (*svasrīya*) of Svāmi-Rudrasena III. The dates found on his coins are the years 304 (382 A.D.) and 306 (384 A.D.). On one variety of the coins of Siṁhasena, his maternal uncle Rudrasena III is called *Rājan* and *Mahākṣatrapa* while on another variety the titles used are *Mahārāja* and *Kṣatrapa*. Both the sets of titles, however, appear to indicate the same position. On the coins of Siṁhasena, the Sanskrit word *varṣe* (i.e. 'in the year') first occurs before the numerals of the date.

Svāmi-Siṁhasena was succeeded as *Mahākṣatrapa* by his son Svāmi-Rudrasena IV. The next *Mahākṣatrapa* was Svāmi-Satyasiṁha who is only known from the coins of his son Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha III. Both these rulers had short reigns. The relationship existing between Satyasiṁha and Rudrasena IV cannot be determined. Rapson thinks that Satyasiṁha was a brother of Siṁhasena and an uncle of Rudrasena IV.[48]

Svāmi-Rudrasiṁha III, son of Svāmi-Satyasiṁha, is the last known Śaka *Mahākṣatrapa*. The only date that can be read on the coins of Rudrasiṁha III is either 310 (388 A.D.) or any date between the above and the year 319 (397 A.D.). Rudrasiṁha III was overthrown by Candragupta II Vikramāditya (376-414 A.D.) who annexed the whole of the Śaka territories in Western India to the Gupta empire.

We have seen how the Eran and Allahabad inscriptions point to the conquest of East Malwa or parts of it and to the subjugation of the Śaka *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasena III by Samudragupta. We have also referred to the revival of Śaka power after sometime even before Samudragupta's death. That Candragupta II personally led an invasion against the Śakas of Western India is known from his inscriptions of the Gupta year 82 (401 A.D.) on the Udayagiri hill near Vidiśā, the old capital of East Malwa.[49] According to one of these records, a minister of the Gupta emperor, named Śāba Vīrasena who was an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra (the Gupta capital), came to that region in the company of his master 'who was desirous of conquering the whole earth'.

There is no direct evidence that Candragupta II annexed Western Malwa, because there are no inscriptions to prove it. The known specimens of the class of flat Gupta coins in silver, which may be especially attributed to Malwa, belong to the successors of Candragupta II. But the annexation of West Malwa (ancient Avanti with Ujjayinī as its capital) by Candragupta II is implied not only by the tradition regarding the Śakāri Vikramāditya, lord of Ujjayinī, but also by numismatic evidence pointing to Candragupta's conquest of Kathiawar lying beyond Malwa. The rare silver coins of the Gupta emperor are more directly imitated from the Śaka coins of the 'western fabric'.[50] Like their prototypes, *i.e.* the coins of the latest *Mahākṣatrapas,* which they closely resemble both in style and fabric, these coins of Candragupta II have on the obverse the date behind the king's head and traces of the old Greek legend, while on the obverse they substitute the Gupta device of the peacock for the Śaka devices, viz. hill, crescent and star. The earliest date that has been read on these coins seems to be the year 90 of the Gupta era (*i.e.* 409 A.D.). The conquest of the whole of the Śaka dominions in Western India by Candragupta II must have been completed during the interval between the latest date on the coins of Rudrasiṁha III (388 A.D.) and 409 A.D., although the invasion against the Śaka kingdom began before 401 A.D. as indicated by one of the Udayagiri inscriptions. It seems that the whole of Western India was placed in the charge of Candragupta's son Govindagupta with his headquarters at Ujjayinī.

[1] Cf. Raychaudhuri, *PAHI,* 1938, p. 363 and note 3.

[2] *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 167 ff.

[3] VII. i. 63.

[4] *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 169 ff.

[5] *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.,* Vol. V. p. 78; cf. Rapson's *Catalogue,* p. li.

[6] See Rapson's *Catalogue,* pp. 72 ff.

[7] *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 169 ff.

[8] *JNSI* Vol. XIII, pp. 187 ff.

[9] *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxxvi.

[10] In *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 84 ff., it has been suggested against this view that, among these Śaka rulers, all brothers succeeded one another as *Mahākṣatrapas* in order of their seniority, and, only when they were exhausted, the next generation came into succession and followed the same tradition.

[11] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 176.

[12] It has been claimed that recently discovered numismatic evidence points to a narrower gap. cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 270.

[13] *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxvi.

[14] See his analysis of the Sarvania hoard in *A.R. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, pp. 227-45.

[15] *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, ed. Majumdar and Altekar, p. 296.

[16] Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, p. xc.

[17] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 247 ff. A silver coin of the Śaka type has been ascribed to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.

[18] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 200 (Sha-to-p'o-ha=Sātavāha[na]).

[19] Ed. Parab, pp. 250-51.

[19a] *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 90; *Select Inscriptions*, 1965 ed., p. 521.

[20] For their coins, see Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, and D. R. Bhandarkar's report on the Sarvania hoard in *A.R. A.S.I.*, 1913-14.

[21] Lüders' *List of Inscriptions*, No. 962; Rapson's *Catalogue of Coins*, p. lxii.

[22] For the Basarh seals, see *A.R. A.S.I.*, 1903-04, pp. 101 ff.; 1913-14, pp. 110 ff.

[23] *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, pp. 185-86. See also p. 519.

[24] *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxxxv.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

[26] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 180 ff.; CII, Vol. IV, pp. 605 ff.

[27] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 275 ff.

[28] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 252 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 80 ff.

[29] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. Majumdar, p. 222.

[30] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197 ff.

[31] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 221.

[32] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.

[33] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.

[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 243 ff.

[35] Cordier and Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, Series II, Vol. VI, Leide, 1905, pp. 538-39.

[36] Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, p. 71; Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 57.

[37] *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, Part i, p. 5; Ray; *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[38] An Armenian chronicler seems to represent the Kuṣāṇa king Vehsadjan (Vasudeva II) as an ally of Khusrū of Armenia in the latter's fight with Ardashīr in 227 A.D. (*BSOAS*, Vol. XV, p. 92; Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 100-01). But a coin of the prince-governor Peroz I, son of Ardashīr, represents him as *Mazdesn bage Péróze vazurg Kūshān Shāh*, 'the Mazda-worshipping lord Peroz, great Kūshān king (*Com. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 251).

[39] See E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 17. In *BSOAS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 501 ff., W. B. Henning thinks that there is no mention of any ruler of the Indian interior in the Sassanian records.

[40] For this section, see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.; F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins.*, intro.; *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, ed. Sastri, pp. 250 ff., 291; etc.

[41] The coin legends of this period are so much debased that it is difficult to determine whether the king's name is Rudrasena or Rudrasīha (Rudrasiṁha). But we are incliner to favour Rapson's judgement.

[42] *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxlv.

[43] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, 1899, pp. 203, 209.

[44] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 260 ff.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 254 ff.

[46] *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxlvi.

[47] As will be seen below, this seems to be supported by the story of Rāawwal in the *Majmalut Tawārikh*.

[48] Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, p. cxlix.

[49] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 271-72.

[50] Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. cli.

LECTURE VI

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN LEGEND AND HISTORY—I

I

KING VIKRAMĀDITYA OF INDIAN LEGEND

In all parts of the earth, royal personages have often exercised great influence over the destinies of men and the latter have enshrined the memory of the former in legends. Such has been the case in our country with regard to early and medieval kings like Udayana, Candragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Śātavāhana (Śālivāhana), Candragupta II Vikramāditya, Bhoja Paramāra, Caulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna and others, round whose names numerous stories have been entwined by popular imagination. None, however, in this galaxy of rulers, has surpassed the glamour of *Rājā* Vikrama or Vikramāditya in Indian tradition and folklore. He is usually represented as the universal ruler of India with his headquarters at Ujjayinī in the Avanti or Mālava country, though, in a few early cases, he is called 'the lord of Pāṭaliputra (the capital of Magadha)'. There are hundreds of stories, all characterised by exaggeration regarding the qualities of this ideal king, in Sanskrit and Prakrit and the modern Indian languages. The stories deal with various aspects of Vikramāditya's character such as his generosity, courage, gallantry, love for the brave, magical powers, patronage of learning, power of producing good poetical works and of evaluating the composition of other poets, etc.[1]

Indeed, Vikrama is represented in the legends as a worker of miracles, a champion of the weak and oppressed, an avenger of insult to the fair sex, an incarnation of courage and daring that earned for him the name Sāhasāṅka (literally, 'one whose characteristic mark is the daring courage'), and a liberator of India from the *Mlecchas* or foreigners, often specifically called the Śakas. His greatest achievement was the destruction of the Śakas and this is illustrated by his epithet or secondary name Śakāri (Śakadviṣ, etc.) meaning 'the Enemy of the Śakas'.

There is an era, with its beginning in 58-57 B.C., still current in wide areas of Northern India. The popular name of this era is Saṁvat or Vikrama-saṁvat and its foundation is traditionally attributed to king Vikramāditya. Tradition thus places Vikrama in the first century B.C. Numerous Indian kings who were willing to emulate the deeds of this legendary hero of ancient India in later times assumed the name or title of Vikramāditya. Some of these aspirants for the glory of *Rājā* Vikrama even claimed to have excelled him in accomplishments. Sometimes the foundation of an era was also emulated. Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A.D.) of Kalyāṇa thus declares in his inscriptions: "By his amplitude, and unaided, Tribhuvanamalla, the king Cālukya-Vikramāditya, caused all the hostile kings to bow down, and became the lord of the world. Having rubbed out the brilliant Śaka-varṣa, he, the impetuous one, the most liberal in the world, who delighted in religion, published his own name throughout the world under the name of the Vikrama-varṣa (i.e., his own era starting from his accession in 1076 A.D.)."[2] Elsewhere it is said, "Having said, "Why should the glory of king Vikramāditya and Nanda (doubtful name of a king regarded as another founder of an era; Śaka?) be hindrance any longer?", he, with a loudly uttered command abolished that era which has the name of Śaka and made that era which has the Cālukya counting."[3]

The origin of the Vikramāditya tradition in Brahmanical literature is traced by some writers in the lost *Bṛhatkathā* composed in Paiśācī Prakrit by Guṇāḍhya during the reign of a Śātavāhana king of Pratiṣṭhāna.[4] There is nothing improbable in the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Guṇāḍhya with an imperial Śātavāhana ruler, although, according to another tradition of lesser authenticity recorded in the *Nepālamāhātmya,* Guṇāḍhya was born at Mathurā (not Pratiṣṭhāna) and was a court poet of king Madana of Ujjayinī.[5] Guṇāḍhya may be supposed to have flourished between the first half of the first century B.C. and the commencement of the third century A.D. when the imperial Śātavāhanas ruled.

Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* is referred to by Subandhu in his *Bāsavadattā* about the end of the sixth century A.D., Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* and *Kādāmbarī* (first quarter of the seventh century), Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* (*circa* middle of the seventh century), and others.[6] Although the original *Bṛhatkathā* in Prakrit has not been recovered, several Sanskrit versions of the work exist, *e.g.,* the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* by Budhasvāmin (*circa* ninth century), probably of Nepal, and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* respectively by Kṣemendra and Somadeva both of the eleventh century and of Kashmir. But, according to most scholars, the *Bṛhatkathā* is to be ranked with the *Mahābhārata* and must have had a gradual growth like the epic.[7] This is already suggested by the discrepancies among the different versions, some of which are known merely from a few quotations in later works.[8] In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to determine when exactly the Vikramāditya legend was incorporated in the Prakrit *Bṛhatkathā* consulted by some of the early medieval writers like Somadeva. As our discussion below will show, this could hardly have been earlier than the post-Gupta age.

The *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā* is a medieval collection of stories celebrating the exploits of Vikramāditya.[9] The stories are purported to have been narrated before the Paramāra king Bhoja (1000-55 A.D.) and one recension of the book speaks of Hemādri, author of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi,* who was a minister of the Yādava king Mahādeva (1261-71 A.D.). There is also a Jain recension of the work. The stories are of the nature of folk-tales and do not resemble those of the *Bṛhatkathā* adaptations.

Two other interesting medieval works incorporating the Vikramāditya legends are the *Vīracarita* of Ananta and the *Śālivāhanakathā* of Śivadāsa.[10] Like the Jain legends of Vikrama, they emphasise the enmity between Vikrama and Śālivāhana. The rivalry of the two kings is extended beyond the political field in the patronage of arts and letters. Vikrama is placed on the side of Sanskrit and Śālivāhana on that of Prakrit.

The Vikrama tradition passed to the literatures of the Neo-Indo-Aryan languages after their development out of the Apabhraṁśa stage and most of these languages have their cycle of stories centering round the glorious name of Vikramāditya. One such work is the *Mādhavānalakāmakandalā* (in Gujarātī) by Gaṇapati who flourished in the sixteenth century.[11] The *Vetālapañcaviṁśati,* which forms a part of the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* is known in vernacular versions throughout Northern India.

One of the stories about Vikramāditya, found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[12] and representing him as the king of Pāṭaliputra and as an enemy of the king of Pratiṣṭhāna (the capital of the Sātavāhanas) who is not called Śālivāhana, runs as follows:

There was a powerful king named Vikramāditya who had his capital at the city of Pāṭaliputra. King Narasiṁha of Pratiṣṭhāna in Dakṣiṇāpatha was his great adversary. Vikramāditya led an invasion against the kingdom of Narasiṁha with a large army and besieged the city of Pratiṣṭhāna, capital of Narasiṁha. In the bloody struggle that ensued, the army of king Vikramāditya was totally routed. Having failed to exhibit his superiority to Narasiṁha by means of force, Vikramāditya was eager to defeat his enemy by a ruse. He left his empire in charge of his ministers and entered Pratiṣṭhāna in disguise with a small force. There he was received cordially by a courtesan and began to live in her house as her lover. Thus the courtesan was won over by Vikramāditya from Narasiṁha. One day Vikramāditya secretly returned to Pāṭaliputra leaving for the courtesan the five 'inexhaustible golden men' that he had formerly received from the god of riches. If any limb of the golden men was broken and offered as a gift to someone, it grew up automatically. In her great sorrow owing to the absence of her lover, the courtesan naturally turned to charity. Soon she became famous for her gifts in gold from the said inexhaustible source. Thus Narasiṁha's fame was eclipsed by that of the courtesan. On one occasion after Vikramāditya's return to the courtesan's house at Pratiṣṭhāna, Narasiṁha met him there and made friends with him. Vikramāditya later married the courtesan and took her away to his capital at Pāṭaliputra.

One other of the several stories about Vikramāditya, represented as the son of king Mahendrāditya of Ujjayinī and as a mighty emperor, is found in the same *Kathāsaritsāgara*[13] and may also be cited here. A king named Mahendrāditya ruled at the city of Ujjayinī in the Avanti country. Having no son, the king propitiated the god Mahākāla (Śiva) of Ujjayinī. By the grace of the god, one of his attendants named Mālyavat entered the womb of Mahendrāditya's queen and was born in time as Vikramāditya or Vikramaśīla or Viṣamaśīla. The prince was destined to be the lord of the whole earth, the controller of semi-divine beings and the extirpator of the *Mlecchas* or barbarians. In his old age, king Mahendra placed *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya on the throne and went to Kāśī to pass his last days at the holy place. Vikramāditya's general and feudatory Vikramaśakti conquered all countries in the four directions as well as in the central region including Surāṣṭra, Vaṅga, Aṅga and Kaśmīra. Among the subdued kings introduced to Vikramāditya, there were Śaktikumāra of Gauḍa, Jayadhvaja of Karṇāṭa, Vijayavarman of Lāṭa, Sunandana of Kaśmīra, Gopāla of Sindhu, Nirmūka of Pārasya, and Vindhyabala, the Bhilla king. King Vīrasena, father of prince Siṁhavarman of Siṁhala, gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya who is said to have succeeded in freeing his empire from sinful acts with the help of the Vetālas or ghosts. Vikramāditya performed miracles in securing the daughter of Malayasiṁha, king of Malayapura which was an island in the ocean. His physical strength and skill in arms were great. Vikramāditya also married the daughter of Guṇasāgara, king of Kaṭāhadvīpa, as well as the princesses of Suvarṇadvīpa (which lay nearby) and Kaliṅga. Malayapura, Kaṭāhadvīpa and Suvarṇadvīpa are respectively the Malay Peninsula, Kedah near the Isthmus of Kra and the Sumatra-Java region.

The above stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, compiled by Somadeva of Kashmir during the reign of Kalasa (1063-89 A.D.), remind us of the facts that it was the Gupta Vikramādityas who had their capital at Pāṭaliputra and that the Gupta emperor Skandagupta Vikramāditya (*circa* 455-67 A.D.) was the son of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (*circa* 414-55 A.D.). Another Kashmirian, Kalhaṇa who composed the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* during the reign of Jayasiṁha (1128-55 A.D.), mentions the same Vikramāditya as king Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī and as the extirpator of the Śakas.[14] There is little doubt that the traditional Vikramāditya is here confused with the Puṣyabhūti king Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya (606-47 A.D.) of Thanesar and Kanauj. The *Bhāvabodhinī*[15] of Madhusūdana (seventeenth century) likewise speaks of Harṣa not only as a king of Mālava with his capital at Ujjayinī but also as the author of the *Ratnāvalī-nāṭikā* which, along with the dramas *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda*, has to be assigned to the Puṣyabhūti king of the seventh century A.D., who was the patron of Bāṇa and other literary men.[16]

We have seen above that a saga of Śālivāhana or Sātavāhana began gradually to develop along with that of Vikramāditya. Vikrama's representation as the enemy of the Śakas as well as of Śālivahana led, in later times, to the identification of Śaka with Śālivāhana who was supposed to have been the founder of the celebrated Śaka era of 78 A.D.[17] The years of the Śaka era are associated in inscriptions, from the thirteenth century, often with Śālivāhana-Śaka.[18] Soon the word *Śaka* (or, *Śāka* in some areas) lost its original sense and came to indicate 'an era', so that the expression *Śālivāhana-Śaka* merely indicated 'the Śaka (*i.e.* era) of Śālivāhana'.[19] This was no doubt an attempt to remove the barbarian association of the Śaka era; but it was apparently overlooked that the ascription of Śālivāhana to the date 78 A.D. could hardly be reconciled with the other legends asserting Śālivāhana's contemporaneity with Vikramāditya assigned to 58 B.C.[20] The confusion, however, reaches its climax when, in some cases, the title Vikramāditya is applied to Śālivāhana.[21]

Apart from inconsistency among themselves (as well as between the legends discussed above and the Jain legends dealt with below), e.g., in the representation of Vikramāditya sometimes as the lord of Pāṭaliputra and sometimes as that of Ujjayinī, the most striking facts in regard to the Vikrama legends are their late date and their conflict with known facts of history. We have seen how the later Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas were ruling over the Malwa region, some of them with Vidiśā as their capital, about the first half of the first century B.C. and how they were overthrown by the Sātavāhanas who occupied East and West Malwa about the third quarter of that century. Western and North-Western India were then first under the Greeks and then under the Śakas. There was hardly any room for a mighty emperor at Ujjayinī in the period in question.

It is equally difficult to ascribe any such ruler of Pāṭaliputra in the same age. There is again no mention of any king of Malwa or Magadha, named Vikramāditya, in the Puranic lists of the rulers of the above regions. Indeed, it is very interesting to note that the *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* section of the Purāṇas, which brings the prophetic accounts of the so-called future kings of the Kali age down to the beginning of Gupta rule in the fourth century A.D., is remarkably silent about the great king Vikrama, even though they mention the Śakas, Gardabhillas (cf. the Jain tradition discussed below), etc., who are associated in tradition with the said legendary hero. If the mighty emperor named Vikramāditya really flourished before the fourth century A.D., the Puranic compilers of the Gupta age could hardly have passed over his outstanding figure in silence. More than three centuries elapsed by that time from the traditional date of *Rājā*

Vikrama and, had Vikramāditya flourished in the first century B.C., legends must have begun to grow round his name before the Gupta age. While it is impossible to believe that Vikrama was remembered by posterity more than three centuries after his death, it is equally difficult to think that an emperor already immortalised by legends should be totally ignored by the Puranic compilers especially in view of the fact that they are found to speak not only of the Śakas and Gardabhillas but even of the rulers of Ujjayinī and the Avanti and Magadha countries, all associated traditionally with the legends of Vikramāditya.[22] It therefore seems that there was neither any emperor named Vikramāditya nor any Vikrama saga before the age of the Guptas. Another significant fact is that the Śakas, as we have seen, ruled in the Ujjayinī region between the second and the fourth century A.D. and the Śakāri, who extirpated them, could have hardly flourished at an earlier date in the first century B.C.

The name or title *Vikramāditya* itself also points to the same conclusion. This title was for the first time borne by the emperors of the Gupta family, who were responsible for its popularisation, while no title ending in the word *āditya* is known to have been borne by any ruler of Indian history prior to the age of the imperial Guptas. When it is noticed that numerous Indian rulers, assignable to the first century B.C., are known from epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources, some of which come even from Malwa and Magadha, it is impossible to regard the conspicuous absence of Vikramāditya from all pre-Gupta sources as a case of mere *argumentum ex silentio*.

We have seen that the original *Bṛhastkathā* (now lost), probably composed between the middle of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the third century A.D., is often supposed to have contained some of the Vikrama legends, but that, according to the examination of the evidence by many scholars, they may be believed to have been actually interpolated in the work during the post-Gupta age.[23] The only other early allusion to Vikramāditya is traced by some writers in the *Sattasaī* or *Gāthā Saptaśatī* ascribed to a

Śātavāhana king named Hāla (Hālavāhana or Śālivāhana). Although, however, the original *Sattasai* may go back to the early centuries of the Christian era, there are clear signs of later interpolations in that Prakrit anthology.

A large number of the stanzas in the *Sattasai* are not common to the different recensions of the work. Again, the verses referring to the god Gaṇapati, Rādhikā and a developed Kṛṣṇa legend and using such words as *horā* (hour) *aṅgāraka-vāra* (Tuesday) and *Kāpālika* (a class of Śaiva ascetics) can hardly be assigned to a period earlier than the Gupta age.[24] The introduction of Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati in the Hindu pantheon is not much earlier than the fourth century A.D. when the latest sections of the *Mahābhārata* are supposed to have been composed. The conception of the Puranic *Rādhikā* and her association with Kṛṣṇa are likewise untraceable in the works of pre-Gupta times. Weekdays are mentioned in Indian inscriptions for the first time in the fifth century A.D. The introduction of Greek astronomical terms like *horā* (Greek *óra*) in the Indian literature is usually believed to be due to borrowing from the Alexandrian astronomers who are assigned to a period later than the close of the third century A.D. Likewise, the Kāpālikas are not known to be mentioned in any early work of definitely known date.

As will be shown later, Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu* belonging to the sixth century and Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* composed about the end of the same century contain the first genuine allusions to the traditional Vikrama. Subandhu laments over the glorious Vikramāditya who was in his time a memory of the past, while Paramārtha quotes one of the simple Vikrama legends.

As regards Śālivāhana's association with Vikramāditya, it may be pointed out that it was unknown to Al-Bīrūnī who visited North-Western India in the first half of the eleventh century A.D. and mentioned both the heroes in his work. Before his time, however, inconsistent traditions grew up as regards the relation between the founder of the Vikrama-saṁvat and that of the Śaka era. On the origin of the era of Śaka, Al-Bīrūnī says, "Some maintain that he was a

Śūdra from the city of al-Mansura [in Sind]; others maintain that he (*i.e.* Śaka) was not a Hindu at all and that he had come to India from the West. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the east, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Kārūr, between Mūltān and the castle of Lonī. Now this date became famous, as people rejoiced at the death of the tyrant, and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers." But the Muslim savant noticed the discrepancy in the tradition, the absurdity of which led him to the conclusion that 'Vikramāditya from whom the era (*i.e.* the Vikrama-saṁvat) has got its name is not identical with that one who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his'.[25]

The names applied to the great hero of the legends indicate some of his characteristics as they mean 'Valour' (Vikrama), 'one who is the Sun in Valour' (Vikramāditya, Vikramārka, etc.), 'one whose Distinctive Mark is Valour' (Vikramāṅka), 'one whose Distinctive Mark is Daring' (Sāhasāṅka) and 'the Enemy of the Śakas' (Śakāri, Śakadviṣ, etc.). Often he is represented as the king *par excellence* of the country of Mālava or the city of Ujjayinī. It is quite clear therefore that the Vikrama tradition became popular after the name Mālava had come to be applied to the ancient Avanti country many centuries later than the second century A.D.

II

VIKRAMĀDITYA AND ŚĀTAVĀHANA IN JAIN TRADITION

In an excellent critical survey[26] of the Jain legends relating to Vikramāditya, H. D. Velankar gives a clear account of the growth of the Vikramāditya saga among the Jains. He points out that before the middle of the twelfth century A.D., "we find very few references to Vikrama, if at all, though Ujjain (Ujjayinī) repeatedly figures in the older Jain literature'. The character of Vikrama as a great *Sāhasika* or adventurer (cf. his title *Sāhasāṅka*) was unsuitable for his adoption into the circle of Jain kings. But the fact that the purpose of many of his adventures was pure public service regardless of other considerations drew the attention of Jain writers after the reign of the devout Jain monarch Kumārapāla (1144-73 A.D.) of Gujarat and it became gradually a fashion among Jain authors to compare king Kumārapāla with Vikramāditya of old. But Vikramāditya's adoption by the Jains as a Jain king, as rightly pointed out by Velankar, does not seem to have taken place for at least about a hundred years after the death of king Kumārapāla in 1173 A.D.

In this connection, Velankar analyses the evidence of Somaprabha's *Kumārapālapratibodha* (1184 A.D.), Prabhācandra's *Prabhāvakacarita* (1127 A.D), Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (1304 A.D.), Jinaprabhasūri's *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (*circa* 1315 A.D.), Rājaśekhara's *Prabandhakoṣa* (1348 A.D.),[27] Devamūrti's *Vikramacaritra* (*circa* 1418 A.D.), Rāmacandrasūri's *Pañcadaṇḍachatraprabandha* (1433 A.D.), Śubhaśīla's *Vikramacaritra* (1442 A.D.) and other works like the *Kālakācāryakathā* (composed sometime before 1279 A.D.). He then comes to the conclusion that the gradual growth of the saga reached completion 'by the end of the 13th century and the author who can be credited with this performance of helping the full growth is Devamūrti'. As regards the celebrated Siṁhāsana and Vetāla stories, associated with Vikrama, Velankar's analysis shows that there were, in the Jain tradition, originally only four Siṁhāsana stories instead of thirtytwo and only four puzzle stories connected with the Vetāla instead of twentyfive. It is only the later Jain authors who adopted the thirtytwo Siṁhāsana and twentyfive Vetāla tales.

One of the currents in the Jain tradition makes Vikramāditya a contemporary of the ancient Jain *Ācārya* Siddhasena-Divākara. A Prakrit stanza is often quoted, in which the *Ācārya* is mentioned as having said to Vikramāditya, "When 1199 years pass by, there will be another king like you named Kumārapāla."[28] It is obvious that the above stanza giving the date of Kumārapāla's coronation according to Jain tradition[29] was composed after the said Caulukya king of Gujarat had established his reputation as a great donor of unbounded generosity. Some writers are inclined to believe that Siddhasena-Divākara is no other than Kṣapaṇaka, one of the traditional nine gems at Vikramāditya's court,[30] although the conjecture is based on the worthless *navā-ratna* tradition and is no doubt absolutely unwarranted.

Most of the Vikrama tales in the Jain tradition have the clear mark of the folklore on them. One of the legends, however, bears a historical colouring. This story is quoted below:

There once lived at Pratiṣṭhāna two Brāhmaṇas and their sister who was a widow. The widow went to the Godāvarī one day for bathing. There the Nāga chief Śeṣa was captivated by her beauty and enjoyed her.[31] Before leaving her, the Nāga told the widow that, as a result of her union with him, she would give birth to a son who would be a great monarch. He also advised her to call upon him whenever she would be in a difficulty. In course of time, a son was born to the Brāhmaṇa widow. The boy in his sports used to play the part of a king. He made toy soldiers with clay and presented them to his friends. For this reason, the son of the Brāhmaṇa widow became known as Śātavāhana among the people.[32] One day an astrologer visited the court of king Vikrama and foretold that Śātavāhana would be the king of Pratiṣṭhāna. In the meantime, reports of the wonderful intelligence of the boy Śātavāhana reached Vikrama. Fearing that the boy was his future rival, Vikrama attacked Pratiṣṭhāna. When Śātavāhana heard this, he made an army of clay and put life into the clay soldiers by the favour of the Nāga chief. This army was then put in the field against king Vikrama. In the battle, Vikrama was defeated and fled to his capital.[33] There are, however, several versions of the story according to one of which Vikrama was struck by an arrow shot by Śātavāhana and died on the battle-field. Some accounts represent Vikrama as having married the daughter of Śātavāhana from whom was born Vikramasena or Vikramacaritra, while others mention Śātavāhana as the son of Manoramā who was the wife of a bodyguard of king Siṁha of Pratiṣṭhāna.[34]

As to some other details regarding king Vikrama with similar historical colouring, we may quote the following story from the medieval Jain work entitled the *Kālakācārya-kathānaka*[35] the exact date of the composition of which cannot be determined. King Gardabhila or Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī abducted the sister of the Jain teacher Kālaka. In order to wreak vengeance, Kālaka went to the *kūla* (i.e. the coast land probably of modern Sind) occupied by the Śakas. In that country, the feudatories were called *Śāhī* and their overlord *Śāhānuśāhī*.[36] Kālaka was staying with one of the *Śāhīs* who, together with ninetyfive other *Śāhīs,* fell into disgrace with their king of kings (*i.e.* their overlord). Kālaka then induced the disgraced Śāhīs to accompany him to Hinduka-desa[37] (apparently meaning India outside Indo-Scythia in the lower Indus valley). They crossed the river Sindhu, embarked in ships and reached the Surāṣṭra *viṣaya* (*i.e.* Kathiawar) which they divided among themselves. In the following autumn, the *Ācārya* led the Śāhīs on to Ujjayinī where king Gardabhilla was made a prisoner. One of the Śāhīs was made the paramount ruler (*Rājādhirāja*)[38] and thus the dynasty of the Śaka kings came into being. After sometime, Vikramāditya, king of Mālava, ousted this Śaka dynasty and established his own era. But Vikramāditya's dynasty was uprooted by another Śaka king who established an era when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed. The *Kālakācāryakathānaka* says that the above story was narrated in order to give information about the origin of 'the Śaka era'.

The details of the story quoted above show that the Jains were eager to give their Vikramāditya legends a chronological background obviously on the basis of the epochs of the Vikrama-saṁvat and the Śaka era and the mention of the Gardabhilla dynasty or people in the Purāṇas. There is no doubt about the fabricated nature of the scheme since no chronological tradition of the type is known from early works whether Jain or non-Jain. The above chronology was further developed in the hands of later Jain writers.

The substance of the chronological information regarding the kingdom of Mālava as given in the *Therāvalī* by the Jain scholar Merutuṅga of the fourteenth century may be stated as follows:[39] "Candra-Pradyota, king of Avanti, died on the same night as the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra (527 B.C.). His son Pālaka reigned 60 years. At that time, the Nandas succeeded to the supreme power at Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī fell into their hands. The nine Nandas following one another in succession reigned for 155 years. Then the Mauryas ruled for 108 years. After the Mauryas, Puṣpamitra ruled for 30 years, and then came Balamitra and Bhānumitra whose joint reign covered 60 years, and Nabhovāhana who ruled for 40 years. Then came the Gardabhilla dynasty which was in power for 152 years. Gardabhilla reigned for 13 years and was then expelled by the Śaka kings who ruled for 4 years. Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained the kingdom of Ujjayinī, founded the Vikrama era and reigned for 60 years. His four successors ruled respectively for 40, 11, 14, and 10 years. Then the Śaka era commenced."

The *Therāvalī* therefore suggests the following chronology:—

Candra-Pradyota, died 527 B.C.
Pālaka, 527-467 B.C.
The Nandas, 467-312 B.C.
The Mauryas, 312-204 B.C.
Puṣpamitra (Puṣyamitra Śuṅga), 204-174 B.C.
Balamitra and Bhānumitra, 174-114 B.C.
Nabhovāhana, 114-74 B.C.
Gardabhilla 74-61 B.C.
The Śakas 61-57 B.C.
Vikramāditya, 57 B.C.—3 A.D.
The Four Successors of Vikrama, 3-78 A.D.

The whole scheme appears to be fabricated on the basis of the epochs of the Vikrama and Śaka eras and a confusion of the Puranic traditions with popular ones. It is, however, in disagreement with the Purāṇas in important details and is unsupported by the known facts of the history of the Malwa region, which we have discussed earlier. If, as indicated by many traditions, the nine Nandas represented only two generations, it is difficult to believe that they ruled for 115 years. The statement about Puṣyamitra's successors are opposed to the Puranic lists of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings, while the rule of the Gardabhilla dynasty of Ujjayinī from 74 B.C. to 78 A.D. is in conflict with the facts of the history of Malwa under the Sātavāhanas and Śakas, as indicated above. The suggestion that Pālaka was succeeded in Malwa by the Nandas of Magadha ignores the Puranic evidence regarding the extirpation of the Pradyota dynasty by Śiśunāga. The Purāṇas mention the 72 years' rule of seven Gardabhilla kings (and not of any king named Gardabhilla or of 152 years' rule of the Gardabhilla dynasty) along with the rule of peoples like the Śakas and others, while all these are vaguely mentioned after the enumeration of the kings of the Andhra or Sātavāhana dynasty. The Puranic Gardabhillas appear to have been foreigners akin to the Śakas and were probably ruling over parts of Western India during the age of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas. The representation of Vikramāditya, the national hero of Indian folklore, as a scion of this obscure community is indeed too fantastic a concoction of the medieval age.

III

THE 'NAVA-RATNA' AT VIKRAMA'S COURT

According to the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* (possibly 1242 A.D.)[40] of *Gaṇaka* Kālidāsa, there were numerous scholars and poets at the court of Vikramāditya, but nine out of them were regarded as *ratnas* or jewels of the court. These nine were: (1) Dhanvantari, (2) Kṣapaṇaka, (3) Amarasiṁha, (4) Śaṅku, (5) Vetāla-bhaṭṭa, (6) Ghaṭakarpara, (7) Kālidāsa, (8) Varāhamihira and (9) Vararuci. This tradition is absolutely worthless for historical purposes not only because there seems to be no trace of it in early literature[41] but also because of the facts that, out of the nine, at least Varāhamihira lived in the sixth century A.D.[42] and not in the first century B.C., which is the age of Vikrama according to legends, and that there is hardly any reason to believe that all the nine worthies mentioned in the list of the jewels of Vikrama's court lived in the same age.

Varāhamihira, who is known to have flourished in the sixth century A.D., is the reputed author of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā, Laghujātaka, Bṛhajjātaka, Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Vivāhavṛndāvana, Yogayātrā, Samāsasaṁhitā* and other works. The first work gives information regarding the contents of five *Siddhāntas* of an earlier date, of which the *Romaka* and *Pauliśa* appear to be associated respectively with the city of Rome and the Greek astronomer Paulus of Alexandria, whose *Introduction to Astrology* was composed in 378 A.D. The *Romakasiddhānta* makes calculation for the meridian of Yavanapura (Alexandria), while the *Pauliśa* gives the difference in longitude between Yavanapura and Ujjayinī.[43] Varāhamihira mentions Āryabhaṭa of Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra) who was born in 476 A.D. and wrote his *Āryabhaṭīya* in 499 A.D. He divides the science of *Jyotiṣa* into three branches, viz., *Tantra* dealing with the astronomical and mathematical foundations, *Horā* with horoscopes, and *Saṁhitā* with natural astrology. The word *horā*, as indicated above, is obviously Greek. Varāhamihira similarly uses many other words of Greek origin in his works.[44] He was born of a Maga Brāhmaṇa family (*i.e.*, family of Indianised Magi priests of Persia) devoted to the Sun-god at Kapittha near Ujjayinī. He was undoubtedly one of the jewels of the Ujjayinī school of astronomy that seems to have flourished under royal patronage in the age of the Śakas and the Guptas; but he can by no means be ascribed to the age of the traditional Vikramāditya in the first century B.C. Since no other Varāhamihira is known to the history of Indian literature, the above discussion on the age of the astronomer is sufficient to prove the worthlessness of the tradition regarding the nine jewels of Vikramāditya's court as given in the medieval *Jyotirvidābharaṇa*. Unfortunately the dates of the other jewels ascribed to the court of Vikramāditya are not easy to determine definitely.

Śaṅku and Vetāla-bhaṭṭa are mere names. About Kṣapaṇaka also little is known. There is a well-known poem entitled *Ghaṭakarpara* which, according to Abhinavagupta (*circa* 1000 A.D.) of Kashmir and certain other writers, has to be ascribed to Kālidāsa.[45] Whether Ghaṭakarpara in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* was meant for the author of the above work cannot be determined. Vararuci may be the reputed author of the grammatical work *Prākṛtaprakāśa* which appears to be a product of the Gupta age.[46] The grammarian thus appears to be a contemporary of the Gupta Vikramādityas. Keith says that the forms of the Prakrits described in the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* are clearly later than Aśvaghoṣa (*circa* 1st-2nd century A.D.) and reflect perhaps the works of the third century A.D. at the earliest.[47] Amarasiṁha, author of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* or *Amarakoṣa*, was a Buddhist and knew the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism which developed during the age of the Kuṣānas about the second century A.D. He cannot therefore be assigned to the first century B.C. As the *Amarakoṣa* was translated into Chinese by Guṇarāta of Ujjayinī in the sixth century, Amara seems to have flourished about the fifth century A.D.[48] The works of Dhanvantari, author of a *Nighaṇṭu* or medical glossary, and of Kālidāsa were utilised by Amara in compiling his lexicon and are therefore earlier than the lexicographer.

The most famous name in the list of the nine jewels is that of Kālidāsa, the greatest writer in Classical Sanskrit. His poems like the *Raghuvaṁśa, Kumārasambhava* and *Meghadūta* and his dramas like the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* are among the very best works in Sanskrit literature. Nothing genuine is known about his life, besides some foolish legends that later grew round his illustrious name. The Prakrit used by him is later than that of the dramatist and philosopher Aśvaghoṣa who was a contemporary of a Kuṣāṇa king named Kaniṣka and flourished about 100 A.D. Kālidāsa used the Greek astronomical term *jāmitra* (diametron) in the sense of the seventh lunar mansion, in his *Kumārasambhava*[49] pointing to a date later than the 3rd century A.D. In his *Raghuvaṁśa*,[50] he places the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṁkṣu or Oxus. This suggests a date earlier than the Hūṇa invasion of India about the middle of the fifth century A.D. The mention of Kālidāsa in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (first quarter of the seventh century)[51] and in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D.[52] shows that his fame spread over all parts of the country before the seventh century. Some commentators on the *Meghadūta* (verse 14) suggest that its author was a contemporary of the Buddhist logician Diṅnāga. The date of Diṅnāga is not definitely known; but he does not appear to have been earlier than the fourth century A.D. Thus Kālidāsa may be assigned to the 4th-5th century A.D. with some degree of plausibility. It is interesting to note that the earliest historical rulers bearing the title Vikramāditya and holding sway over a huge empire covering the major part of Northern India including Malwa, *i.e.* the Gupta emperors, flourished in the above age. Kālidāsa's association with Vikramāditya is therefore not improbable and meaningless.

Kālidāsa's relation with Vikramāditya moreover rests on traditions earlier than that of the other jewels. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (tenth century), Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśikā* (eleventh century) and Kṣemendra's *Aucityavicāracarcā* (eleventh century) refer to the despatch of Kālidāsa by Vikramāditya as his ambassador to the court of a king of the Kuntala country (*i.e.* the area around the North Kanara District of Mysore). Traditions also make Kālidāsa a contemporary of king Pravarasena, author of the *Setubandha* (usually identified with Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II of the fifth century A.D., who was the son of a daughter of Candragupta II Vikramāditya) and Kumāradāsa, author of the *Jānakīharaṇa* (whom Ceylonese traditions identify with a king of Ceylon flourishing in 517-26 A.D.). These legends are, however, of very doubtful value.

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[1] See an analysis of some of these qualities in the *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 162 ff.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 447.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. III, Part i, p. 348. See also *Bhāratakaumudī* referred to below.

[5] Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 266. Among later works mentioning Guṇāḍhya mention may be made of a Cambodian epigraphic record of c. 875 A.D.

[7] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 266, 275.

[8] Cf. *Bharata Kaumudī,* Part II, pp. 575 ff.

[9] There are five recensions of this work known under various names like *Vikramārkacarita, Siṁhāsanopākhyāna, Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśataśālabhañjikā,* etc. See Edgerton's edition in Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 26-27; cf. also "Vikramaditya in the Sanskrit Tradition" by K. A. Subramania Iyer in the *Vikrama Volume,* pp. 153 ff.

[10] *Vikrama Volume,* p. 162. These works do not appear to be earlier than the fifteenth century.

[11] *Loc. cit.*

[12] See VII. iv.

[13] See XVIII. i ff.

[14] *Op. cit.*, III. 125-28.

[15] Tripathi, *History of Kanauj,* p. 184; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 127-28.

[16] *IHQ,* Vol. XXVII, pp. 321 ff.

[17] *Journ. Or. Res.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 92-93; Sircar, Ind. Ep., p. 262.

[18] Cf. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions,* No. 1044: *Śrīman-nṛpati-Vikramārka-samay-ātīta-saṁvat* 1699 *varṣe śrī-Śālivāhana-rājyāt Śaka 1564 pravartamāne.* Cf. also the representation of Śālivāhana as belonging to the Śaka race in No. 1028 (*tathā ca Śaka-vaṁśasya Śālivāhana-bhūpateḥ*) of 1713 A.D.

[19] Cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

[20] See Sachau, *Alberuni's India,* Part II, p. 6, and below, for a similar discrepancy noticed by Al-Bīrūnī.

[21] See Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* s. v. *Vikramāditya.*

[22] Cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri in *Vikrama Volume,* p. 485. The saga of Udayana (not Vikramāditya) was popular in Avanti in Kālidāsa's age.

[23] Cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[24] See Raychaudhuri in *op. cit.*, pp. 485-86.

[25] Sachau, *loc. cit.*

[26] *Vikrama Volume,* pp. 637 ff.

[27] This Rājaśekhara should not be confused with his celebrated namesake of the tenth century A. D.

[28] For Siddhasena-Divākara's legends in Jain literature, see *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 217 ff.

[29] Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 976.

[30] *Vikrama Volume*, p. 93. Siddhasena-Divākara's *Nyāyāvatāra* is usually assigned to 533 A.D. (see Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 484).

[31] The story represents a popular literary motif. An exactly similar tale is given in the Chaudadanpur inscription in explaining the Brahmakṣatra origin of a person. See Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā*, pp. 6 ff.

[32] The name is spelt both *Śātavāhana* and *Sātavāhana*, neither of which, however, would give the desired sense easily. *Śata-vāhana* of course may indicate 'a hundred chargers'.

[33] *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 663-64.

[34] See *loc. cit.*

[35] See *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. II, Part i, pp. xxvi-xxvii. See also *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, pp. 139 ff.; *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 233 ff.; Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*. After defeating Gardabhilla and releasing his sister, Kālakācārya is said to have gone to the court of king Śātavāhana at Pratiṣṭhāna, while Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhilla, is said to have regained Mālava 17 years after its occupation by the Śakas.

[36] This is the same as Persian *Shāhān Shāh=Shaonano Shao*, the title of the Kuṣāṇas of Kaniṣka's house, who were the overlords of the Śakas from the latter half of the first century A.D. The title *Rājādhirāja* mentioned below also derived from the Kuṣāṇa title *Rājātirāja*.

[37] The geographical name *Hindukadeśa* is the same as Persian *Hindustān*. It is expected only in medieval works.

[38] This is the same as the Kuṣāṇa title *Rājātirāja*. which is the same as *Shāonano Shāo*.

[39] Cf. *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, pp. 147 ff.; *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 291 ff.

[40] Keith assigns the work to the sixteenth century A.D. (*Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 534) . The author tries to pass himself as Kālidāsa of Vikrama's court when he says that the work was begun in the Kali year counted by *sindhura* (8), *darśana* (6), *ambara* (0) and *guṇa* (3), i.e. 3068=34 B.C., though another date elsewhere in the book is the Śaka year counted by *śara* (5), *ambhodhi* (7) and *yuga* (4), *i.e.* 475 = 553 A.D. Another case somewhat of this type is offered

by Harisvāmin's commentary on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which is said to have been composed in Kali 3047 = 55 B.C. while the author, hailing from Puṣkara, is stated to have been serving king Vikrama of Avanti as a *Dharmādhyakṣa* in charge of charities. Cf. *Bhār Vid.*, Vol. IX, 1948, pp. 325-40.

[41] An inscription of Vikrama 1005 (948 A.D.) from Bodhgaya is said to mention Amara as one of the *nava-ratnāni* at Vikramāditya's court (Bhandarkar's List, No. 63). But the date is extremely doubtful. The inscription now lost was examined in 1785 (*As. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 284) when the knowledge of Indian palaeography was at a rudimentary stage. It may also be a forgery.

[42] According to Pṛthusvāmin, a commentator on Brahmagupta's works, *Ācārya* Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509= 587 A.D. But this tradition is now considered dubious by scholars (*The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar p. 328). In the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, Varāha himself gives the year of the Śaka-kāla counted by *sapt-āśvi-veda*, i.e. 7, 2, and 4; which, according to the principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ*, would make Śaka 427=505 A.D. No other interpretation of the passage (cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VI, p. 201) is worthy of acceptance. The views on the nine jewels in the *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 71-114, are absolutely unacceptable since they are based on an utterly uncritical handling of the evidence at our disposal. The above date forms the basis of calculation in the work and it is sometimes believed that the *Pañcasiddhāntika* was composed in that year. If, however, it is supposed that Varāhamihira was born in the year 505 A.D., the date can be reconciled with the tradition regarding his death in 587 A.D. In that case, we may assign the astronomer to the period 505-87 A.D.

[43] In 'the charts in use by the medieval navigators of the Indian ocean—Arabs, Persians or Drāviḍas', 'the first meridian separating a leeward from a windward region, passed through Ras Kumhārī (Cape Comorin) and was thus nearly identical with the first meridian of the Indian astronomer, which passed through the sacred city of Ujjain or the meridian of Azīn of the Arabs'. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., Vol. XIV, pp. 840-41; *Indian Archives*, Vol. V, pp. 62-63; Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 250.

[44] See Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 530.

[45] Winternitz, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Vol. III, Part i, p. 125.

[46] Sircar, *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, p. .3

[47] *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 433.

[48] *Amara's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, ed. Sharma and Sardesai, p. iii.

[49] See VII. 1.

[50] Cf. IV. 67-68.

[51] Ed. Parab, p. 5.

[52] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

LECTURE VII

VIKRAMĀDITYA IN LEGEND AND HISTORY—II

IV

THE HISTORICAL VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE BEGINNING OF THE VIKRAMA TRADITION

Some writers believe in the historicity of king Vikramāditya of the Indian legends and suggest that there was actually a ruler of this name in Malwa in the first century B.C. As indicated above, this view is entirely unwarranted.

There is a group of writers who are inclined to identify the traditional Vikramāditya with king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty.[1] The theory, which is based merely on the fact that Gautamīputra claims to have been a destroyer of the Śakas and other foreigners like the traditional Vikramāditya, is absolutely unjustifiable in view of the following facts. In the first place, Gautamīputra ruled in the first half of the second century A.D., as his son Puḷumāvi is mentioned as a contemporary ruler by the Greek geographer Ptolemy about the middle of that century, and as he himself was a contemporary of Nahapāna whose known dates fall in 118-24 A.D. Secondly, in most of the legends, Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (or Pāṭaliputra) and Śātavāhana (Śalivāhana) of Pratiṣṭhāna are clearly distinguished and are represented as adversaries of each other. The Śātavāhanas are not known to have dwelt at Ujjayinī or Pāṭāliputra. Śātavāhana was moreover not the personal name of Gautamīputra but of the founder of the dynasty who may be his ancestor Simuka-Śātavāhana or one of the latter's predecessors. It may of course be suggested and it is highly probable that king Sātavāhana of the legends was endowed with the achievements of different members of the Sātavāhana family; but the central figure, round whose name the legends began to develop, appears to have been the king named Sātavāhana (*i.e.*, Simuka-Sātavāhana). Thirdly, unlike Vikrama, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was no founder of any era (least of all the Vikrama-Saṁvat with an epoch more than a century earlier) since he and his successors are known to have dated their records according to their individual regnal reckoning. Had an era been started by Gautamīputra, his successors must have continued to use it in their records. Fourthly, Gautamīputra is not known to have assumed the title *Vikramāditya*. As suggested above, titles ending with the word *āditya* were unknown before the Gupta age. They were introduced by the Gupta monarchs and became fairly common in later epochs. Gautamīputra's epithet *vara-vāraṇa-vikrama-cāru-vikrama* (*i.e.*, having charming gait like that of a choice elephant) has absolutely nothing to do with the title Vikramāditya (*i.e.*, the Sun in Valour).

Some writers of the older generation believed that the traditional Vikramāditya was no other than king Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscriptions, one of which is dated in 532 A.D. (Vikrama 589).[2] It was pointed out that, of 'the nine gems' traditionally associated with Vikramāditya's court, the date of Varāhamihira alone is fairly satisfactorily known and, as already indicated above, he flourished in the sixth century A.D. The only powerful king of the Ujjayinī region, who flourished in the said epoch, was Yaśodharman who claimed to have outshone the Hūṇa barbarians and defeated the Hūṇa king Mihirakula.[3] It was unfortunately ignored by the sponsors of the above theory that Yaśodharman never assumed the title of *Vikramāditya* and that his capital was apparently at Daśapura (modern Mandasor) and not at Ujjayinī. The Hūṇas, represented as his enemies, are moreover not known to have been confused in Indian literature with the Śakas who were the adversaries of the traditional Vikramāditya. Then again, Yaśodharman was not the founder of any era and was not in any way associated with the foundation of the Vikrama-Saṁvat, in the year 589 of which he dated his record. There is absolutely no evidence worth the name in support of the identification of Yaśodharman of Mandasor with king Vikramāditya of traditions.

So far as definite evidence goes, *Vikrama, Vikramāṅka* and *Vikramāditya* are known to be applied to the Gupta emperor Candragupta II (376-414 A.D.) on some of his coins,[4] while he is called *Vikramāditya* in the Supia pillar inscription (460 A.D.) of Skandagupta's time.[5] On a coin of Samudragupta (*circa* 335-76 A.D.), father of Candragupta II, that monarch is called *Vikrama* which is a contraction of *Vikramāṅka* or *Vikramāditya*. But this coin has not been regarded by scholars as a genuine issue of the king.[6] Samudragupta is, however, known to have enjoyed the title *Parākramāṅka* which is the same as *Vikramāṅka*. This is the beginning of the popularity of titles ending in the words *āditya* and *aṅka*. Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.), son and successor of Candragupta II, enjoyed the title *Mahendrāditya*, while his son and successor Skandagupta (455-67 A.D.) again assumed the title *Kramāditya* or *Vikramāditya*. Skandagupta's brother Pūrugupta (or, according to some, the latter's son Budhagupta, 477-94 A.D.) was also a Vikramāditya, while Budhagupta's brother Narasiṁhagupta claimed the title *Bālāditya*. Narasiṁhagupta's son Kumāragupta II (473 A.D.) was again a *Vikramāditya*. Similar other *āditya* titles in the Gupta family were *Prakaṭāditya, Prakāśāditya, Dvādaśāditya*, etc. It is thus seen that the title *Vikramāditya* was assumed by a number of the illustrious monarchs of the Gupta imperial family in the fourth and fifth centuries. Indeed, it was the most popular among the *āditya* titles enjoyed by the Gupta emperors.

It is again interesting to note that the Gupta emperors Samudragupta *Parākramāṅka* and Candragupta II *Vikramāditya* or *Vikramāṅka* were both enemies of the Śaka kings of Western India including Malwa. The anti-Śaka policy was instituted by the father and was carried to its successful culmination by the son who extirpated the Śaka ruling house and permanently annexed the Śaka dominions to his empire. Thus the success of Candragupta II against the Śakas was much more conspicuous than that of his father. It may also be noted that, just as Vikramāditya's capital is placed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* sometimes at Pāṭaliputra and sometimes at *Ujjayinī*, Candragupta *alias* Vikramāditya of the Gupta family, from whom the Guttas (*i.e.* Guptas) of Guttavoḷal (Guttaḷ in the Dharwar District of Mysore) claimed descent, is associated in the Gutta (Gupta) records either with Pāṭalipura (Pāṭaliputra) or with Ujjayinī.[7] This is probably because Ujjayinī became a sort of secondary capital of the Guptas after the extirpation of the Śakas of Western India, as we have already seen.

The above facts have to be read with others like that Candragupta (II) is represented as the killer of the Śaka king in Viśākhadatta's *Devīcandragupta* and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, while the same person is mentioned as the *Guptānvaya* (belonging to Gupta dynasty) in the Sanjan plates[8] of 871 A.D., as Barkamārīs (*i.e.* Vikramāditya) in the *Majmal-ut-tawārīkh* and as Sāhasāṅka (a name of the traditional Vikramāditya) in the Cambay and Sangli plates[9] of Govinda IV and that Al-Bīrūnī speaks of a Sanskrit work mentioning Vikramāditya, founder of the Vikrama-Saṁvat, as *Candrabīja* (no doubt a corruption of or mistake for *Candragupta*).[10] All this shows that it was principally the achievements of Candragupta II that formed the basis of the Vikramāditya saga, although, as will be seen below, the exploits of all the Vikramādityas (and possibly also of the other °*ādityas*) of the Gupta dynasty appear to have contributed to its development. Raychaudhuri seems to be right when he says, "the legends that grew round Candragupta *Vikramāṅka* absorbed a good deal of the achievements of his father who bore the synonymous title *Parākramāṅka*, as otherwise it is difficult to explain the silence of the Classical Sanskrit writers in regard to the great Samudragupta."[11] The distinction of the individual Vikramādityas was apparently obliterated in course of the development of the Vikramāditya tradition as those of the individual Kaniṣkas of the

Kuṣāṇa dynasty and of the different monarchs of the Śātavāhana dynasty lost themselves in developing respectively the Kaniṣka and Śātavāhana (Śālivāhana) sagas.

The achievements of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, who was the mightiest monarch of his age, and of the other Vikramādityas of his family were remembered long after the passing away of the Gupta dynasty. That the Guptas were great patrons of learning is known from epigraphic reference to Hariṣeṇa, author of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta,[12] and to the *Kavi* Śāba Vīrasena of Pāṭaliputra, who was a hereditary minister of Candragupta II and accompanied his master to the Vidiśā region when the latter was bent on 'the conquest of the whole earth' apparently alluding to the invasion of the Śaka dominions.[13] Samudragupta was also himself an artist of no mean order. His coins represent him as a great musician playing on the lute.[14] In the Allahabad pillar inscription,[15] he is described as having established his title *Kavi-rāja* (the king of Poets) by various poetical compositions and as having surpassed Bṛhaspati, Tumburu, Nārada and others by his choral skill and musical accomplishments. He performed the glorious Aśvamedha sacrifice, which had been in abeyance in Magadha since the days of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, after having extirpated numerous kings of Āryāvarta and subdued a host of the Dakṣiṇāpatha rulers. The Aśvamedha was again performed by his grandson Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya who also issued gold coins bearing his representation as a lute-player.[16] Samudragupta is described as 'the Inscrutable Being that is the cause of the prosperity of the pious and the destruction of the wicked' as Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā* (IV. 8), while Candragupta II is called *Rājādhirājarṣi, acinty-ojjvala-karman* and 'the wonderful *antarjyotiḥ* that resembles the sun and is named Candragupta'.[17] The Junagadh inscription[18] describes Skandagupta Vikramāditya as one whose fame 'even his enemies in the countries of the dumbfounded Mlecchas, having their pride broken down to the very root, announce with the words—*Verily, the victory has been achieved by him.*' This no doubt reminds us of the exploits of Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya (*i.e.* Skandagupta, son of Kumāragupta I), echoed in the *Kathāsaritsāgara.* Thus the early Gupta Vikramādityas appear to have been regarded as supermen even during their lifetime. The great impression that they must have created on the minds of their contemporaries would have given a fillip to the development of the Vikrama saga.

That the Vikramāditya tradition began to develop as early as the age of the Guptas themselves is clearly indicated by Buddhist literature. The earliest legends about this famous imperial name come from this source although Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* (end of the sixth century) also alludes to Vikramāditya's patronage to scholars and poets.[19] Paramārtha (499-569 A.D.) wrote a biography of the Buddhist savant Vasubandhu who flourished in the fifth-sixth century. In this work, king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā in North India, is represented at first as a patron of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy. He is said to have given three lacs of gold coins to the Sāṅkhyan scholar Vindhyavāsa who defeated Vasubandhu's teacher, the Buddhist philosopher Buddhamitra. Vasubandhu's *Paramārthasaptati* demonstrated clearly the unsoundness of Vindhyavāsa's *Sāṅkhyaśāstra* and pleased Vikramāditya so much that he gave three lacs of gold coins to Vasubandhu as well. Vasubandhu taught Buddhism to the king's son Bālāditya and initiated the queen to the Buddhist faith. When Bālāditya became king of Ayodhyā after his father's death, Vasubandhu lived at the capital under his special patronage.[20]

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang (seventh century) recounts the same story in his *Si-yu-ki*[21] with some interesting alterations and additions. King Vikramāditya of Śrāvasti (not Ayodhyā) is said to have asked his treasurer to distribute five lacs of gold coins among the poor the very day he subdued the whole of India. The treasurer was afraid that such a gift would empty the royal treasury. The king, however, pointed out that gifts to the distressed out of the accumulated wealth in the treasury was not a lavish expenditure and actually distributed also an additional amount of five lacs. On a different occasion, the king is said to have given one lac of gold coins to a peasant who put him on the track of a wild boar, when he was on a hunting expedition. But the king was unfortunately jealous of the munificence of the Buddhist teacher Manoratha (not Buddhamitra) and, out of spite, arranged a debate between Manoratha and a hundred learned non-Buddhists. Having been defeated as the result of a ruse, Manoratha died of a broken heart. After some time, Vikramāditya lost his kingdom and was succeeded by Bālāditya. Manoratha's disciple Vasubandhu now induced the new king to summon the same non-Buddhist scholars to a debate with himself and easily defeated all of them.

A comparison of the two stories given by Paramārtha and Hiuen-tsang would no doubt point to the gradual embellishment and consequent development of the Vikrama tradition even as early as the sixth and seventh centuries. Both the versions of the story emphasise Vikrama's patronage of learning and munificence. Vikramāditya and his son Bālāditya of the stories have been rightly identified with Pūrugupta Vikramāditya and his son Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya[22] who flourished about the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Indian conquerors and empire-builders of the Gupta and later ages preserved the tradition of the Gupta Vikramādityas by assuming *Vikramāditya* or other *°āditya* designations as a name or title emulating the hero of the growing Vikramāditya legends and sometimes even claiming to surpass him. The Cālukya king (655-81 A.D.) of Bādāmi, who succeeded in recovering his father's dominions from the Pallavas of Kāñcī, assumed the name Vikramāditya. His great-grandson (733-43 A.D.), who led successful expeditions against Kāñcī, the capital of the hereditary enemies of the Cālukyas, was another Vikramāditya. This shows that the Vikramāditya tradition gained some popularity as early as the seventh century, *i.e.* within a century after the end of Gupta rule in the latter half of the sixth century. The confusion of *Vikramāditya* with *Śilāditya* (Harṣavardhana), already referred to above, points to the contribution of the holders of the other °*āditya* designations to the development of the Vikrama tradition.

The number of kings with names ending in *āditya* in the post-Gupta and succeeding ages is countless. We may refer here to some of the Vikramādityas of the later ages besides those already mentioned. In the Cālukya family, there were altogether six Vikramādityas of which the First, Second and Sixth have been already referred to. As noticed above, Cālukya Vikramāditya VI founded the Cālukya-Vikrama era from his accession in 1076 A.D. in imitation of the illustrious forerunner. There were three Vikramādityas among the Gutta (Gupta) chiefs of Guttaḷ in the Dharwar District, who claimed descent from Candragupta *alias* Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī or Pāṭalipura (Pāṭaliputra).[23] Three more Vikramādityas adorned the house of the Bāṇa chiefs of the Chittur District of Andhra Pradesh and the North Arcot District of Madras.[24] Such Vikrama titles as *Alaṅghyavikrama* are found among the Pāṇḍyas of the southernmost districts of India.[25]

The popularisation of the Vikrama tradition in South India appears to be due principally to the Jains who had great centres in the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, first in the Śaka dominions and later in the Gupta empire, and also in the Kannaḍa-speaking area and to the influence of the Jain scholars and administrators at South Indian royal courts. The Jains contributed very considerably not only to the development of the Vikrama and Śātavāhana sagas but also to the spread of the Vikrama and Śaka eras, more particularly of the latter. The Śaka era, which was in use in Western India during the Śaka regime for more than three centuries, spread over the Kannaḍa country probably through Jain agency. The reference to the *Vikramāditya-carita* in Hāla's *Sattasaī* and the mention of the *Guptānvaya* or Sāhasāṅka in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records point to the popularity of the Vikrama tradition in the Kannaḍa country and its neighbourhood. We know that Kadamba Kākusthavarman (*circa* 405-35 A.D.) of the Kuntala country with Banavāsi (North Kanara District, Mysore) as his capital, who was a contemporary of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I, gave his daughter in marriage to a Gupta prince.[26] This may have been partially responsible for the tradition about Kālidāsa's embassy to Kuntala. The Guttas of Guttaḷ must also have been partly responsible for the popularity of the Vikrama tradition in the Kannaḍa country.

When Northern India was threatened by Muslim invaders from beyond the north-western gates, people recalled the remarkable exploits of the mighty extirpator of the Śaka foreigners. It is therefore no wonder that there are several rulers bearing the illustrious name in the above period of North Indian history. Mention may be made in particular of Paramāra Sindhurāja (*circa* 997-1000 A.D.), who assumed the title *Nava-Sāhasāṅka* (*i.e.*, the New Sāhasāṅka), and of Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (*circa* 1015-41 A.D.).[27]

In the late medieval period, Hemu, who was the general of one of Sher Shāh's successors and conquered Delhi in 1556 A.D., assumed the dignified title of *Vikramāditya*. The Mughul emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) emulated the great Vikrama by patronising the *Naw-ratan* in imitation of the traditional *Nava-ratna* or nine jewels at Vikramāditya's court. Vikramājīt (Vikramāditya) of Mewar and Vikramāditya (father of Pratāpāditya) of Jessore in Bengal were among the minor chiefs who assumed the proud name in the late medieval period.

V

VIŚĀKHADATTA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE CANDRAGUPTA-VIKRAMĀDITYA SAGA

Viśākhadatta, son of *Mahārāja* Bhāskaradatta (or the minister Pṛthu) and grandson of the chief Vaṭeśvaradatta, is the celebrated author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, one of the most remarkable dramas of Sanskrit literature. The theme of the work is an imaginary or traditional episode of the struggle between the Nandas and Mauryas which, as history knows, led to the establishment of Candragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha. The date of Viśākhadatta is unknown; but there is a clue in the *Bharatavākya* of the *Mudrārākṣasa,* which says, "May king Avantivarman (who is protecting the earth troubled by the Mlecchas as Viṣṇu did in his Boar incarnation) long guard this earth with kins and servants in prosperity."[28] It seems very probable that the variant readings *Dantivarmā* and *Rantivarmā* in the place of *Avantivarmā* are due merely to clerical errors, while the reading *Candraguptaḥ* is an unauthorized emendation of a later copyist who was eager to introduce in the verse the name of the king who figures prominently in the drama in question. Scholars are agreed in assigning Viśākhadatta to a date later than that of Kālidāsa who, as we have seen, flourished in the fourth-fifth century A.D. As Viśākha, author of the remarkable *Mudrārākṣasa,* is not mentioned by Bāṇa in his list of earlier poets of merit in the introduction of the *Harṣacarita* composed in the early decades of the seventh century, he cannot probably be ascribed to a date much earlier than that author. It seems that he was either a contemporary and rival of Bāṇa or that he flourished in a subsequent period. Avantivarman, who seems to have been his patron, was therefore either the Maukhari king of that name who ruled about the close of the sixth century or the Kashmirian ruler of the same name who ruled in 855-83 A.D. About 600 A.D., the Maukharis ruled over the widest kingdom in Northern India. The Nirmand and Barah copper-plate inscriptions show that parts of the Punjab and Bundelkhand were comprised in the empire of Avantivarman's father Śarvavarman Maukhari, while U.P. and Bihar were integral parts of the Maukhari empire according to the available evidence.[29] It is interesting to note that the Aphsad inscription refers to the victory of the Maukhari army over the barbarian Hūṇas.[30] Whether this refers to the repulsion of a Hūṇa invasion against any part of the Maukhari empire or to a victory over the Hūṇas who were then living about the Western part of the Punjab according to the *Harṣacarita,*[31] cannot be determined. But the Maukhari success against the Hūṇas is probably echoed in the reference to the Mlecchas in the *Bharata-vākya* of the *Mudrārākṣasa* in connection with the author's patron Avantivarman. Thus Viśākhadatta seems to have flourished at the court of Maukhari Avantivarman about the close of the sixth century A.D.[32]

Another work of Viśākhadatta, which is lost, is now known from references to and quotations from it in Abhinavagupta's commentary (tenth-eleventh century) on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra,* Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (eleventh century), the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (twelfth century),[33] and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakoṣa* of Sāgaranandin. This is the *Devīcandragupta* with a pseudo-historical theme exactly as that of the *Mudrārākṣasa.* The fragments help us in reconstructing the story of the drama as follows.

There was a king named Rāmagupta whose queen was Dhruvadevī. In course of a war with the king of the Śakas, king Rāmagupta was closely besieged and was so hopelessly cornered that, in order to save his people or satisfy his councillors (*prakṛtīnām=āśvāsanāya*), he accepted the Śaka king's demand to surrender his queen Dhruvadevī to the latter. The king's pet, *Kumāra* Candragupta (the younger brother of Rāmagupta according to other references to the same subject) who was used to *Vetāla-sādhana,* protested against such a dishonourable act and offered to go to the enemy's camp in the disguise of the queen with the purpose of killing the Śaka king. The stratagem succeeded admirably and Candragupta saved the honour of his family. The adventure apparently raised him in the estimation not only of the people but also of queen Dhruvadevī, while Rāmagupta's prestige suffered considerably. There was soon an estrangement between Rāmagupta and Candragupta and the latter, probably fearing the king's design on his life, feigned madness. The drama possibly consisting of nine Acts apparently also contained the following facts. Candragupta ultimately succeeded in killing Rāmagupta. He then became king and married the widowed queen Dhruvadevī.

There is no doubt that much of the story is fabricated on the slender basis of what may be a historical fact. It is interesting to note that the *Devīcandragupta* is a *prakaraṇa* type of *rūpaka,* in which the characters of the hero and the heroine sould not be above reproach according to most authorities.[34] It is therefore intelligible why Viśākhadatta depicts the characters of Dhruvadevī and Candragupta, respectively the heroine and hero of his *Devīcandragupta*, as not quite free from blemishes. Killing an enemy in the guise of a female is also a well-known literary motif reminding us not only of the Kīcaka-vadha episode of the *Mahābhārata*[35] but also of certain anecdotes of the Rajput and Muslim chronicles.[36] It is thus impossible to regard the episode of Candragupta killing the Śaka king in the queen's guise as a genuine historical event. This is clearly a folktale.

That Candragupta's queen was Dhruvadevī or Dhruvasvāminī and that there was a revival of the Śaka power in Western India under Rudrasena III immediately before Candragupta's accession are historical facts. Everything else, including most of the dramatic characters, appears to be due either to Viśākhadatta's own imagination or to some current popular legends embellished by his imagination. Whether such legends were associated with Candragupta II himself or some other kings of folklore cannot be determined. It may be pointed out that the *Mudrārākṣasa* likewise contains a good deal of unhistorical element including imaginary characters. No evidence worth the name exists in favour of Rāmagupta's existence and rule. There are some copper coins of a king of about the fifth century A.D. named Ramagupta, who was, however, a ruling chief of the East Malwa region or its neighbourhood like Harigupta and Indragupta also known from their copper coins.[37] We have no epigraphic or literary work of a date prior to 600 A.D., which refers to Candragupta's marriage with his elder brother's widow. Majumdar observes, "The story in itself, even apart from such supernatural elements as *Vetāla-sādhana* (goblin-worship), is not only unusual, almost bordering on the romantic and incredible, but is also *prima facie* so much opposed to our knowledge of facts and belief in practices of the period, that nothing but the strongest evidence should induce us to place any credence in it."[38]

In an analysis of the steps in the development of the Vikrama saga, Raychaudhuri says, "The rescue or the vindication of the honour of a lady as well as resistance to barbarian intruders are subjects that have always struck the imagination and stirred the emotions of the Indian people.[39] An important element of the Vikramāditya saga developed on these lines. The author of the *Devīcandragupta* drew on this and several other popular motifs such as courage in braving the enemy in his own place, putting on female attire, and acquisition of help from supernatural agency, etc. The partiality of women for the brave and their abandonment of the mean-spirited in favour of a worthier mate are also common motifs."[40]

It may, however, be asked whether such an essential character as Rāmagupta in the *Devīcandragupta* with an ostensibly historical theme may be entirely imaginary. But we have actually poetical compositions based entirely on an imaginary story, but endowed with a similar historical colouring. There are, *e.g.*, numerous poetical works dealing with the love episode of the fictitious characters Vidyā and Sundara.[41] The eighteenth century Bengali poet Bhāratacandra, in the *Vidyāsundara* section of his poem entitled *Annadāmaṅgala,* makes Sundara a son of king Guṇasindhu of Kāñcī and Vidyā the daughter of king Vīrasiṁha of Vardhamāna (Burdwan in South-West Bengal).[42] All the figures are of course imaginary, although Bhāratacandra has given his story a sort of historical colouring by weaving it in the accounts of the expedition of *Rājā* Mān Singh of Amber, a general of the Mughul emperor Akbar, against Pratāpāditya of Jessore in Bengal. A palpably absurd element in Bhāratacandra's story is that Sundara is said to have excavated, with supernatural help, an underground passage from his residence at a flower-girl's house at Burdwan to Vidyā's chamber in the palace of Vīrasiṁha. The poem, however, made such a deep impression on popular mind that people even now visit Burdwan to see the tunnel and, strangely enough, the imaginary passage is shown to them by the local people![43]

The earliest allusion to the story of the *Devīcandragupta* can be traced in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa who was, as we have seen, probably a contemporary and rival of Viśākhadatta.[44] According to Bāṇa's statement, Candragupta, disguised as a female, destroyed a Śaka king, who coveted another's wife, in the very residence of the enemy (*aripura*).[45] Śaṅkarārya, in his commentary on the *Harṣacarita*, says that the Śaka king who was also the religious head (*Ācārya*) of the Śakas and who had demanded Dhruvadevī, wife of Candragupta's brother, was killed in secret by Candragupta in the guise of Dhruvadevī and in the company of persons attired as females.[46] There is no doubt that these details were gathered from the *Devīcandragupta* which was also apparently Bāṇa's source.

In a verse in the Sanjan plates (871 A.D.), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarṣa (815-79 A.D.) claims superiority over the *Gupt-ānvaya* no doubt referring to Candragupta of the *Devīcandragupta*.[47] It is said that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor was by far greater than the Gupta king who seized the kingdom and queen of his brother after having killed the latter and, further, made a gift of only one lac of coins but caused one crore to be written in a eulogy. The implication is that the prestige of Amoghavarṣa was not marred by any flaw as the Gupta king's was by such mean acts as the seizure of the wife and kingdom of his brother. The source of the hint at the flaw in Vikramāditya's liberality may have been a lost section of the *Devīcandragupta* itself.

Similarly, a verse in the Cambay and Sangli plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (929-33 A.D) says that the Raṣṭrakūṭa king became the very Sāhasāṅka on the earth by dint of his benevolence and unparalleled daring; but his fame was never polluted by bad deeds like sexual intercourse with his brother's wife; moreover, he never treated his elder brother cruelly, though he had power enough to do so, nor did he, out of fear, associate himself with goblins (*piśācas*) regardless of purity and impurity.[48] There is absolutely no doubt that here Candragupta of the *Devīcandragupta* is implied by the name Sāhasāṅka which is one of the names applied to the traditional Vikramāditya. This is a conclusive proof, as already pointed out, that essentially king Vikramāditya of the traditions is no other than Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. The reference to Sāhasāṅka's cruel treatment of his elder brother, his sexual relation with his brother's wife and his association with goblins undoubtedly points to the story of the *Devīcandragupta,* narrated above.[49]

There is a verse in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (first half of the tenth century) which alludes to the story of the *Devīcandragupta.* It says, "Your fame is sung today by the hosts of the women of Kārttikeyanagara in the same Himālaya resonant with the singing of the Kinnaras living in the hollows of spacious caves, whence the illustrious king Śarmagupta (or Senagupta), with his advance checked and adventure cut short, returned after having surrendered queen Dhruvasvāminī to the king of the Khasas."[50] The names *Śarmagupta* (or *Senagupta*) and *Khasa* of the above verse may be mistakes respectively for *Rāmagupta* and *Śaka.* But we have here the additional information that Rāmagupta struggled with the Śakas in the Himalayan region and was defeated near the city of Kārttikeyanagara. While some writers have identified the city with modern Baijnath in the Almora District of U.P., others prefer to read *Kārttikeya nagarastrīṇāṁ* (instead of *Kārttikeyanagarstrīṇāṁ*) so that the reference would be merely to the Himalayan cities. The second group of scholars would also suggest that king Kārttikeya addressed in the stanza is no other than the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla who is called Kārttikeya in the *Bharata-vākya* of Kṣemīśvara's *Caṇḍakauśika.*[51] It is, moreover to be noticed that the verse speaks of the surrender of the queen by the king and not merely to his desire to surrender as in the *Devīcandragupta* which again does not refer to the retreat of the king after his defeat at the hands of the Śaka ruler. This embellishment of the story was apparently due to a poet who flourished considerably later than Viśākhadatta probably about the beginning of the tenth century. Since the poet whose verse was quoted by Rājaśekhara in the first half of the tenth century does not appear to be earlier than the ninth century A.D., the author of the *Devīcandragupta* seems to have flourished at a still earlier date. This probably supports our ascription of Viśākhadatta to the close of the sixth century A.D.

The story of the *Devīcandragupta* is found in the *Majmal-ut-Tawārīkh,* a Muslim chronicle of the first half of the twelfth century A.D., in the following form.[52]

There was a king named Rawwāl whose brother was Barkamārīs. During Rawwāl's reign, a royal princess, who, it was foretold, would be the queen of the four climes, chose Barkamārīs for her husband in a *svayaṁvara.* On Barkamārīs' return with the princess, king Rawwāl somehow managed to marry the princess himself. Poor Barkamārīs devoted himself to studies and became famous for his scholarship. Rawwāl was then attacked by a former enemy of his father.[53] His army was defeated and Rawwāl took shelter in a hill-fort[54] with his family and nobles. Soon, however, Rawwāl was compelled to sue the besieging enemy for peace. But the enemy said, "Send me your wife and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers and then I will retire." Rawwāl was ready to accept the proposal on the advice of his minister. But Barkamārīs said to the king, "Let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman and let all officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels and let us each conceal a knife in our hair and carry also a trumpet concealed. Then send us to the enemy king. When we shall be brought before that king, they will tell him that I am the queen. He will then keep myself for himself and give the others to his officers. When he retires with me I will rip up his belly and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this, they will know that I have done my work and they must also do theirs. When you hear the trumpet you must sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." The plan succeeded and Rawwāl came off victorious. But his minister excited his suspicion against Barkamārīs who saved himself by feigning madness and wondering barefoot in the capital like a lunatic. One day Barkamārīs managed to enter the palace and found Rawwāl and the queen sucking sugarcane. They took him to be a mendicant and offered him a bit of sugarcane. He took it and picked up a piece of the cane-shell to scrape and clean it with. Seeing this, the king asked the queen to give the beggar a knife. Barkamārīs cleaned the sugarcane with the knife received from the queen and waited until the king was off his guard. Then suddenly he sprang upon him and killed him with the knife. He then dragged the king from the throne by his feet. Next he called the minister and the people and seated himself upon the throne amid plaudits of the people. After burning Rawwāl's body, Barkamārīs married the widowed queen and restored order. His power and kingdom spread until at length the whole of India submitted to him. Rawwāl's minister Safar, who roused his suspicion against Barkamārīs, wanted to burn himself with his master. Barkamārīs requested him to continue as minister; but, when Safar did not agree, he requested him to write a book on the duties of kings, government and justice before sacrificing his life. Safar agreed to this. He then composed a book entitled *Instructions of Kings* and later burnt himself.

There is no doubt that, in the above story, *Rawwāl* and *Barkamārīs* are respectively corruptions of the names *Rāmagupta* and *Vikramāditya* (in place of the name *Candragupta* of the *Devicandragupta*). As previously indicated, here is an additional evidence in favour of the identification of Candragupta II with the traditional Vikramāditya. We have to note that the resemblance of the above story with the plot of the *Devīcandragupta* is quite remarkable. It is highly probable that the plot of Viśākhadatta's drama, known to us only in fragments, agreed in all essential details with the story of Barkamārīs (Vikramāditya) as found in the *Majmal-ut-Tawārīkh*. The attempt to induce Rawwāl's minister Safar (*Śāba* or *Ṣabara*) to serve Barkamārīs reminds us of a similar endeavour to induce Rākṣasa, the minister of the Nanda king, to become the chief minister of Candragupta Maurya after Nanda's overthrow as described in Viśākhadatta's other drama, the *Mudrārākṣasa.* The difference is that Rākṣasa ultimately agreed to serve Candragupta Maurya.

[1] See H. K. Deb in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik,* 1922, pp. 255ff.

[2] *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 386ff.

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 394-95.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 275, note 1; Altekar, *Coin. G. Emp.,* pp. 91; 128; etc.

[5] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXIII, pp. 306ff.

[6] Altekar's *Catalogue of Coins* (*Bayana Hoard*), p. lviii.

[7] Cf. *Bombay Gazeteer,* Vol. I, Part i, pp. 578-79. The Guttas (Guptas) claimed descent from either Candragupta or Vikramāditya (who is in a few records represented as a descendant of Candragupta), the lord of Ujjayinī in Mālava, who was the master of the eight *Mahā-siddhis* and the ruler of the Vetālas. The Guttas indicated the origin of their family by the title *Ujjayinīpuravar-ādhīśvara* or *Pāṭalipuravar-ādhīśvara.* They had the Garuḍa-dhvaja like the Guptas of Magadha. Their claim to belong to the *Gupta-vaṁśa* and their alternative epithets *Candragupta-vaṁś-odbhava* and *Vikramāditya-vaṁś-odbhava* leave no doubt that they identified Candragupta II, lord of Ujjayinī (and Pāṭalipura=Pāṭaliputra), with king Vikramāditya of the traditions (cf. also the reference to the Vetālas). Even when the rare reference to Vikramāditya's descent from Candragupta is considered, the identification of the traditional Vikramāditya with Candragupta II is not affected as there were several Vikramādityas among the descendants of that king. Cf. Vikramāditya (Skandagupta), son of Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta I), extolled in a story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* referred to above. Moreover, Candragupta II was himself the grandson of Candragupta I.

[8] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 255ff.

[9] *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, pp. 26ff.; *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XII, pp. 249ff.

[10] Sachau, *Alberuni's* India, Vol. II, p. 6.

[11] *Vikrama Volume,* p. 490.

[12] *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 259-60.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 272.

[14] Allan's *Catalogue of Coins* (*Gupta*), Plate V.

[15] *Select Inscriptions,* p. 259.

[16] Altekar, *Catalogue of Coins* (*Bayana Hoard*), pp. 299-300, 302-03.

[17] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 272, verse 1.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 301, verse 4.

[19] Intro., verse 10.

[20] Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 211ff.

[21] *Loc. cit.*

[22] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, pp. 495-96.

[23] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part i, pp. 578ff. For a Vikrama or Vikramāṅka among the Kadambas of Hangal and the Sindas of Yelburga, see pp. 559, 573.

[24] Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, p. 328.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[26] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 254, verse 31.

[27] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 772ff., 858ff.

[28] Ed. S. Ray, pp. 10 (intro.) and 543.

[29] Cf. the Haraha (Bara Banki District) and Jaunpur inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 110ff.; *JIH*, 1964, pp. 127ff.). Kanauj was apparently the Maukhari capital and that is why Harṣa transferred his headquarters from Thanesar to Kanauj on his annexation of the Maukhari kingdom. Sūryavarman, son of Īśānavarman Maukhari, is described as a scion of the Varman ruling house of Magadha (Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, No. 1654).

[30] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 203.

[31] Ed. Parab, p. 150.

[32] If the Hūṇas were defeated by the Maukhari army during the rule of Īśānavarman, we may think that the forces were led against the barbarians by the Maukhari king's grandson Avantivarman. Cf. the case of Vasumitra who was the grandson and general of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. For the modification of the *Devīcandragupta* story in the hands of a later poet who flourished before Rājaśekhara, see below. It is also not improbable that the Maukharis fought with Mihirakula as vassals of the Gupta emperor Bālāditya.

[33] *Ind. Ant.*, July, 1923, pp. 181ff.; *Journ. As.*, 1923, pp. 201; *JBORS*, Vol. XIV, Part ii, pp. 226ff.; Vol. XV, pp. 138ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 265ff. Cf. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 47; see also Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.

[34] If the heroine is a *kul-āṅganā*, *i.e.*, not a courtesan, she should be *manda-gotrāṅganā* which the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* explains as *manda-gotrā aṅganā nāyikā yatra*; *yad=vā*

mandā manda-vṛttā gotr-aṅganā yatra; ata ev=ātra nāyik-aucityena nāyako=pi manda-gotra eva. The hero and heroine thus either should not belong to high family or should not possess high character.

[35] Virāṭaparvan, XIV-XXIV.

[36] See Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,* Calcutta ed., Vol. I, pp. 282-83; Qanungo, *Sher Shah,* 1st ed.; pp. 146 ff.

[37] For the coins of a king named Rāmagupta, see Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins,* pp. 226ff.

[38] *A New History of the Indian People,* Vol. VI, ed. Majumdar and Altekar, p. 163. Of course, our knowledge about the practices of the period is rather limited. Marrying one's elder brother's widow does not appear to have been so unpopular in the Gupta age as it gradually became in the later period.

[39] The same is the case with most other peoples on the earth.

[40] *Vikrama Volume,* p. 503.

[41] Cf. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 188; Dasgupta and De, *History of Sanskrit Literature,* Vol. I, Calcutta, pp. 367ff.

[42] Considerations of caste, language, religion, etc., played and still play a very small part in the formation of matrimonial alliances among royal families, even when such marriages could have hardly taken place among ordinary families of different parts of the country.

[43] Note also the imaginary characters in modern 'historical' dramas such as D. L. Roy's *Candragupta* (Bengali) in which an imaginary Helen is introduced as the daughter of Seleucus and the fiancée of Candragupta Maurya, although the classical writers speak merely of a matrimonial alliance between the two monarchs.

[44] Raychaudhuri, however, believes that Bāṇa may have had access to an earlier form of the legend. This is because he places Viśākhadatta in the ninth century A.D.

[45] Ed. Parab, pp. 199-200; *aripure ca para-kalatra-kāmukaṁ kāminī-veśa-guptaś = ca Candraguptaḥ Śaka-patiṁ = aśātayat.* The name is sometimes quoted as Alipura (or Nalinapura). Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* makes it Alipura. The implication is that the Śaka king's *skandhāvāra* stood in a locality of that name.

[46] *Loc. cit.* Cf. *Śakānām =ācāryaḥ Śak-ādhipatiḥ; Candragupta-bhrātṛjāyāṁ Dhruvadevīṁ prārthayamānaś = Candraguptena Dhruvadevī-veśadhāriṇā strīveśa-jana-parivṛtena rahasi vyāpāditaḥ.*

[47] Cf. *hatvā bhrātaraṁ rājyam=aharad=devīṁ ca dīnas= tato lakṣaṁ koṭim = alekhayat kila kalau dātā sa Gupt-ānvayaḥ* (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 248, verse 48).

[48] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 249; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 36; *Sāmarthye sati ninditā pravihit ān = aiv = āgraje krūratā bandhustrī-gaman-ādibhiḥ kucaritair=āvarjitaṁ no=yaśaḥ/ śauc-āśauca-parāṅmukhaṁ na ca bhiyā paiśācyam=aṅgīkṛtaṁ tyāgen=āsama-sāhasaiś = ca bhuvane yaḥ Sāhasāṅko=bhavat//*

[49] Raychaudhuri lays particular stress on the mention of the goblins in the *Devīcandragupta* and the grants of Govinda IV and seems to suggest that this trait was added to the Vikrama tradition about the ninth century. We are, however, inclined to regard it as an *argumentum ex silentio.* Some scholars think that the expression *paiśācya* in the inscriptions refers to Candragupta's state when he was feigning madness and not to *Vetāla-sādhana* which, in their opinion, Candragupta intended to perform, but was not required to do.

[50] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (G.O.S., p. 47): *Dattvā ruddhagatiḥ Khasādhipataye devīṁ Dhruvasvāminīṁ yasmāt khaṇḍita-sāhaso nivavṛte śrī-Śarma* (or *Sena*) *gupto nṛpaḥ/ tasminn= eva Himālaye guru-guhā-koṇa-kvaṇat-Kinnare gīyante tava Kārttikeyanagarastrīnāṁ gaṇaiḥ kīrttayaḥ//*

[51] For another theory of this type, see *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (G.O.S.), pp. 193-94.

[52] *JBORS*, Vol. XV, pp. 134ff.

[53] This accords well with our suggestion regarding Samudragupta's subjugation of the Śaka king Rudrasena III and the revival of the Śaka power under the latter sometime before the former's death.

[54] Cf. reference to the Himālaya in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* verse cited above.

LECTURE VIII

THE VIKRAMA-SAṀVAT[1]

I

THE EARLY INDIAN SYSTEMS OF DATING

The earliest documents of the indigenous kings of India bear no trace of the use of any era. Many of them contain no date at all, though some of the official records of the independent rulers as well as those belonging to their officials, subordinates and subjects are found to be dated. The dates of such records are, however, always expressed in the reckoning of the kings' regnal years. Thus the inscriptions of Aśoka and of other early Indian kings including the Śātavāhanas are dated in this manner, although there are signs of gradual modification of the system of dating in the course of time.

A. critical study of the early epigraphic records of India would suggest that originally the Indian custom was to mention the past or current regnal year of the king without any specification of the day, fortnight or month. At a later date, the day is found mentioned in the dates of the documents in some parts of India with reference to the specific fortnight of a season. The year seems to have been divided for the purpose into three seasons, viz., summer, the rains and winter, each consisting of eight fortnights. The seasons ended with the *Cāturmāsī* which was usually identified with the full-moon *tithi* of the months of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna. According to the popular tradition and practice, the summer consisted of the *pūrnimānta* months of Caitra, Vaiśākha, Jyaiṣṭha and Āṣāḍha; the rains of Śrāvaṇa, Bhādrapada, Aśvina and Kārttika; and the winter of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. A South Indian inscription[2] of about the end of the third century A.D. suggests the later inclusion of autumn in the list of the seasons. But it is not impossible that the word *Śarat* has been used here in the sense of *Varṣā*.

The dates found in the earliest epigraphic records of the indigenous kings of India thus point to the absence of the custom of dating royal documents in the years of an era and apparently also to the non-existence of any popular era in ancient India. There are, however, references to some Indian eras with epochs falling before the rise of the Mauryas in the fourth century B.C. These are the Kali-yuga era of 3102 B.C., the Śrī-Harṣa era of 457 B.C. and the Parinirvāṇa eras of the Jains and the Buddhists believed to have started in the sixth century B.C.

Puranic passages such as the one measuring the intervening period between the birth of Parikṣit (placed by some authorities immediately after the battle of Kurukṣetra and at the beginning of the Kali-yuga) and the accession of the *sarva-kṣatr-āntaka* imperial ruler Mahāpadma Nanda as 1015 or 1050 (or 1500) years[3] no doubt suggest that the chroniclers of ancient Indian historical traditions attempted to base their chronological scheme on such important events as the birth of Parikṣit and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda.[4] But the number is the aggregate of the reign periods of the successive rulers as given by some Puranic texts, which are in themselves often conflicting and even absurd.[5] Moreover, the facts that the chroniclers do not always begin their computation from a point near about the supposed beginning of the Kali-yuga and that there is absolutely no uniformity among the traditions go to show that the reckoning from the starting of the Kali age (which itself belongs to the domain of mythology as the *yuga* division is not noticed in early literary records) was not a regular, far less a popular, era. The contemporaneity of the last Nanda king with Alexander (336-323 B.C.) and the Puranic accounts of the predecessors of the Mauryas suggest that Mahāpadma Nanda is to be assigned to a period not much earlier than 400 B.C.[6] Different versions of the Puranic tradition quoted above thus place the birth of Parikṣit (and therefore the beginning of the Kali age) 1015 or 1050 (or 1500) years before that date, *i.e.* roughly about 1415 B.C. or 1450 B.C. (or 1900 B.C.)

According to the evidence of the Aihole inscription[7] (634 A.D.) and certain other sources, however, the first year of the Kali-yuga era corresponds to 3102-3101 B.C. Another tradition supported by authorities including Kalhaṇa, author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*,[8] says that the battle of Kurukṣetra (and therefore the birth of Parikṣit) occurred 653 years later than the beginning of the Kali age, *i.e.*, about 2449 B.C. Thus, whatever may have been the value attached by the chroniclers to the event of Parikṣit's birth, there was apparently no regular and uniform reckoning from that chronological point. As to the Kali-yuga era of 3102 B.C., scholars have satisfactorily demonstrated that it is not a real historical era, but was fabricated by Indian astronomers for the purposes of calculations some thirtyfive centuries after that date.[9] As regards Al-Bīrūnī's reference to the Śrī-Harṣa era of 457 B.C. it is absolutely unknown to Indian history and epigraphy.[10] But the fact that its epoch is just 400 years earlier than that of the Vikrama-Saṁvat may suggest that this reckoning was also fabricated by astronomers for the purposes of their calculations. It should also be noticed that Al-Bīrūnī confused the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. with the above reckoning.

During his Indian travels, Al-Bīrūnī who deals efficiently with the Indian reckonings, does not appear to have heard anything about the Jain and Buddhist Parinirvāṇa eras. But there is some evidence to show that both the Jains and the Buddhists may have had a sort of rough reckonings calculated respectively from the death of Vardhamāna-Mahāvīra and that of Gautama-Buddha. It is, however, to be remembered that, in ancient India, the dates of such reckonings were usually referred to not by individual years but by centuries. As for instance, the *Milindapañha* says that king Milinda (identified with the Indo-Greek king Menander) flourished 'at a time when 500 years elapsed from the death of the Buddha'.[11] Similarly Hiuen-tsang records a tradition that the celebrated Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiṣka flourished 400 years after the Buddha's death.[12] Thus Menander is placed between the years 500 and 600 and Kaṇiṣka between the years 400 and 500 after the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa.

The indication of the dates of the Buddhist reckoning only by centuries has to be coupled with the fact that a large number of different epochs of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa are recognised in different parts of the world.[13] Attention in this connection may also be drawn to the absurd chronological position created by the traditions assigning Kaṇiṣka to the fifth and Menander to the sixth century of the Buddhist reckoning. Probably the two traditions do not refer to the same epoch of the Parinirvāṇa. These facts show that the use of the Parinirvāṇa reckoning was limited within the Buddhist church and that it was never used in ancient India as a popular era with a single recognised epoch. A strong proof in support of the above conclusion is that the use of the reckoning is conspicuous by its absence in the records of the early Buddhist kings of India including the great Aśoka.[14]

The Jain ecclesiastical reckoning has even less claim than the Buddhist one to be taken as anything like a regular era in the early history of India. The ancient Jain king Khāravela dated the records in his Hathigumpha inscription[15] according to his regnal reckoning. Indeed it is significant that both the Buddhist and Jain Nirvāṇa reckonings are entirely unknown to the early period of Indian epigraphy.[16]

II

INTRODUCTION OF DATING IN REGULAR ERAS

The absence of any trace of the use of an era in the dated records of the early indigenous kings of India is to be considered along with the fact that the earliest use of the regular era in India is noticed in the epigraphic and numismatic records of the foreigners who ruled in the western areas of the northern half of our country. The two facts together would doubtless point to the extraneous origin of the custom of dating records according to the years of an era. It seems very probable that the use of the era in royal as well as private records was introduced and popularised in India by kings belonging to non-Indian extraction such as the Scytho-Parthians and the Kuṣāṇas.

An era was often the regnal reckoning of an independent king (who was not bound to use the regnal dates of a suzerain) continued by his successors. When the successors of an early Gupta king counted the year of a date not from their own first regnal years, but from the first year of the reign of that particular ancestor, the reckoning came automatically to be an era and the said ancestor of the later Gupta monarchs became the founder of an era. Often a new era was instituted by a dynasty or king to supercede an earlier era associated with another dynasty of rulers whose authority was wholly or partially extirpated by the people in question. The years of the above era of the Guptas, apparently instituted to supplant the use of the Kaṇiṣka era in the parts of North India that came into the possession of the early Guptas, were, for sometime to come, usually referred to just as regnal years, without any specification. Soon, however, the reckoning came to be distinguished from other current reckonings as 'the era of the Guptas'.[17]

The earliest historical era in the true sense of the term seems to be the Seleucid era of 312 B.C. prevalent in the Greek empire in Western Asia which lay just beyond the north-western borders of the Maurya empire of India. About the middle of the third century B.C., Parthia (modern Khorasan) and Bactria (the modern Balkh region) threw off the yoke of the Seleucid emperor and the former actually instituted a new era from 247 B.C. to supercede the use of the era of the erstwhile suzerains, the Seleucids, even though the Greek rulers of the independent kingdom of Bactria, who later conquered wide regions of India, are not known to have instituted any era. About the middle of the second century B.C., the Parthian king Mithradates I (*circa* 171-136 B.C.) conquered the whole of the eastern part of the Seleucid empire and extended his dominions upto the lower valley of the Indus. Thus the use of the Parthian era, besides that of the older Seleucid reckoning, was introduced in Eastern Iran and the adjoining regions of India. The Parthians later also extended their power over considerable parts of Afghanistan and the north-western areas of India. It is therefore no wonder that a few inscriptions discovered in the above area are actually found to bear dates in the Parthian era of 247 B.C.[18]

About the middle of the first century B.C. sometime after the death of the Parthian emperor Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.), the hold of the central government of the Parthians grew feeble on the outlying provinces and, as indicated by numismatic evidence, an independent monarchy was established in East Iran. The person responsible for the foundation of this new kingdom seems to have been Vonones who is only known from his coins. The Śakas who occupied the Indus valley from East Iran appear to have originally owed allegiance to the East Iranian kingdom. The earliest Śaka ruler of the Indus valley and the adjoining areas was Maues (Moa or Moga) who may have at first been a subordinate of Vonones, but later assumed independence in India after his master's death.[19]

The Taxila inscription[20] of the time of Maues is dated in the year 78 of an unspecified era. It seems very probable that the use of this era was carried by the Śakas to India from East Iran whence they came to the Indus valley. It is again most likely that, with the supercession of the authority of the imperial Parthian government from East Iran by Vonones about the middle of the first century B.C., a new era was established from his accession to supercede simultaneously imperial Parthian rule and the Parthian era starting from 247 B.C. when both the Seleucid suzerainty and era had been overthrown by Parthia. Some other records of the time of Maues and his successors are similarly dated in the same East Iranian era starting from a date about the middle of the first century B.C.

The above conclusion about the origin of the Scytho-Parthian era of East Iran sometime in the middle of the first century A.D. is remarkably supported not only by the occasional use of the names of the months of the Macedonian calendar in the epigraphic records of the foreigners in India,[21] but also by the Takhi-i-bahi inscription[22] of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophernes dated in the twentysixth year of his own reign as well as in the year 103 of the said era. According to Christian tradition, Gūdnaphar (Syriac version) or Goundaphoros (Greek version) was the king of India (*i.e.* the land on the Indus), at whose court the Apostle Thomas was received shortly after the crucifixion in 29 or 33 A.D.[23] Scholars have identified this king with king Gondophernes of the coins and Guduhvara of the Takht-i-bahi inscription, who has to be assigned exactly to the above epoch if the date of his record (*i.e.* year 103 falling in his twentysixth regnal year) is referred to an era starting about the middle of the first century B.C.

The earlier Kuṣāṇa rulers of India are known to have used the same Scytho-Parthian era. The Panjtar inscription[24] of the year 122 and the Taxila inscription[25] of the year 136 prove this beyond doubt. But the earlier Kuṣāṇas were overthrown by king Kaṇiṣka of the same stock, who founded an era from his accession in order to supercede the Scytho-Parthian era, then in use in the north-western regions of India.[26] It will thus be seen that the interval between the epoch of the Scytho-Parthian reckoning and the accession of Kaṇiṣka was roughly about 136 years. Kaṇiṣka I may have actually begun to rule a few years before or after the date of the Taxila inscription of the year 136 of the Scytho-Parthian era of East Iran. As the commencement of the Scytho-Parthian reckoning is referable to the middle of the first century B.C., the accession of Kaṇiṣka I, which is the beginning of the Kaṇiṣka reckoning, has to be assigned a little above a century and a quarter after that date, that is to say, the beginning of the Kaṇiṣka era has to be ascribed to the last quarter of the first century A.D. It has to be admitted that scholars are not agreed on the question of the epochs of the Scytho-Parthian and Kaṇiṣka reckonings. But the suggestions offered above appear to be the most probable in the present state of our knowledge.[27]

The Scytho-Parthian and Kaṇiṣka reckonings are the earliest popular eras used in ancient Indian records. The use of the Parthian era of 247 B.C. is limited to a comparatively few inscriptions discovered in the north-western part of India. Besides the use of an era, *i.e.*, a continuous reckoning, there are some other interesting features in the dating of the records of the foreign rulers of ancient India. We notice the month, but not yet the *tithi,* introduced into the date. The month is often mentioned in relation to the season exactly as the fortnight is noticed in some early indigenous records. This may be due to the influence of the Indian system of dividing the year into seasons. But it is not known if the introduction of the month in the dates of Indian records, or at least its popularity, was due to the foreigners, though the occasional use of the names of the months of the Macedonian calendar, introduced in Western Asia by the Seleucids and carried to India by the foreigners who had come from areas originally under Seleucid rule, may possibly point to that direction.

III

THE VIKRAMA AND ŚAKA ERAS

The earliest extant historical eras of India are the Vikrama-Saṁvat of 58 B.C. and the Śaka-kāla of 78 A.D., the interval between the two eras being actually 135 years. It is interesting to note that the epochs of these two eras fall exactly in the Scytho-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa ages of Indian history. Considering, therefore, the facts that the early indigenous kings of India used no era, that the foreign kings who ruled in India between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. are known to have used two different eras separated from each other by a little above one century and a quarter and that the epochs of the earliest extant historical eras of India, viz. the Vikrama and Śaka eras separated from each other by 135 years, fall respectively in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. during the period of foreign rule in India, it is only natural to think that the Vikrama and Śaka reckonings may after all be the same as the two foreign eras known from epigraphic sources. Of course, it is easy to say that the Scytho-Parthian and Kaṇiṣka reckonings have died out and that the Vikrama and Śaka eras are different from them, though, in that case, it is not possible to explain satisfactorily the origin and early history of the two Indian eras. The identification of the two groups is certainly more logical, if the attested facts of early Indian history can be reconciled with it.

As regards the Śaka era, the very name points to its foreign origin. The identification of the Scytho-Pathian reckoning and the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. is again strongly supported, as we have seen, at least by the Takht-i-bahi inscription of Gondophernes. If the year 103 of the date of that record is referred to the Vikrama era, the period of twentysix years of Gondophernes' rule has to be assigned to 21-46 A.D. which is exactly the time when Saint Thomas visited his court, according to Christian tradition, shortly after 29 or 33 A.D. It may be pointed out that no difficulty may be supposed to stand in the way of the identification of the Scytho-Parthian reckoning with the Vikrama-Saṁvat and of the Kaṇiṣka era with the Śak-ābda is really insurmountable.

In two inscriptions[28] of the year 134 and 136 of the Scytho-Parthian era, the dates are mentioned as those of Azes (Aja or Aya), *i.e.* as falling in the rule of a foreign king named Azes. There were two kings of this name in the imperial Śaka house of North-Western India and the first of them, who ruled after Vonones of East Iran and Maues of India, is believed by some scholars to have begun to rule in 58 B.C. and to have founded the Scytho-Parthian era later known as the Vikrama-Saṁvat. There is, however, no proof in support of this conjecture. As has already been pointed out, an era, which was practically the continuation of a regnal reckoning, did not usually get a name immediately after its institution. A specific name came to be attached to it when it became popular and had to be distinguished from rival reckonings. Even then, the years of the era would often be referred to without specification simply as *Saṁvatsara* (contracted to *Saṁvat* or *Saṁ*) or *Varṣa*, *i.e.* 'the year', usually of the reign of the contemporary king exactly as regnal years. It is therefore not unnatural that the years of both the Scytho-Parthian and Kaniṣka eras were at first simply styled 'the year [of the reigning monarch]'. We are inclined to believe that Azes mentioned in connection with the years 134 and 136 of the Scytho-Parthian era was the Śaka king Azes II who appears to have flourished in the above period, *i.e.* about the years 77 and 79 A.D., if the dates are referred to the Vikrama era.

The Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka I, who was the founder of an era, has been assigned by different scholars to various dates ranging between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D.[29] Recent writers on the chronology of the Kuṣāṇas are, however, agreed on the point that it is impossible to assign the king to the first century B.C. while there is hardly any support for the ascription of Kaniṣka, the founder of the era, to the third century A.D.[30] As regards the ascription of Kaniṣka to the first or second century, the fact has usually been ignored that there were different kings of that name in the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. At least two Kaniṣkas are known from inscriptions, the first one ruling in the period covered by the year 1-23 of the Kaniṣka era and the second in the year 41 of the same era.[31] There was again a third Kaniṣka who ruled at a later date as indicated by numismatic evidence. If the Kaniṣka era is identified with the Śaka era of 78 A.D., Kaniṣka I, the founder of the era, ruled in 78-102 A.D., Kaniṣka II in 119 A.D. and Kaniṣka III, known only from his coins, apparently in the third century A.D. It may be pointed out that the existence of different kings named Kaniṣka in the first, second and third centuries A.D. is more reasonable than the ascription of the first Kaṇiṣka, who was the founder of the era, to a date later than the first century A.D. The legends that clustered round the name of Kaṇiṣka must have absorbed a good deal of the achievements of his different name-sakes. It would therefore be unwise to attribute all the activities of the traditional Kaṇiṣka to a particular king of that name.

There is a group of scholars who believe that the Kuṣāṇa king Wema Kadphises, a predecessor of Kaṇiṣka I, was the founder of the Śaka era of 78 A.D.[32] But the institution of an era requires the continuation of the regnal reckoning of a king by his successors and subordinates. This seems to be quite inapplicable in Wema's case, as he was succeeded by Kaṇiṣka I who was the founder of a new era in the sense that his regnal reckoning was continued by his successors. In the absence of Wema's records dated in his regnal reckoning and those of a later date in which that reckoning was continued, it is really impossible to ascribe the foundation of any era to that king.

There is again another group of scholars who think that the Śaka era was founded by the Śaka Satraps of Western India.[33] But the viceregal titles of these Śakas made it clear that they acknowledged the suzerainty of an imperial power. It is well known that feudatory rulers of ancient India followed the reckoning used by their overlords. Although the Śakas of Western India appear to have begun to rule almost independently sometime after the establishment of their power in Western India, their satrapal titles show that they did not formally throw off the yoke of their overlords who were apparently the Kuṣāṇa emperors of Kaṇiṣka's house, whose hold over the area about the Śaka possessions is indicated, as we have seen, by the Sanchi inscription of Vāsiṣka, a successor of Kaṇiṣka I. Another fact to be considered in this connection is that no date of the era earlier than the year 41 has been traced in the records of the Śaka Satraps of Western India. There are inscriptions of the time of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna with dates ranging between the years 41 and 46, while the Kārdamaka-Śakas who succeeded him began to date their records in the years of the same era from the year 52. The use of the era was continued by these Śakas upto about the year 310. Now, if the West Indian Śakas were themselves responsible for the foundation of the era in question, it is inexplicable why their records bear dates of the era almost continuously from the year 41 while there is not a single record dated in any year between the years 1 and 40. This fact, considered with the other that these Śakas were originally feudatory rulers, precludes the possibility of the era used by them having been their own institution. That the era used by the Śakas of Western India is no other than the Śaka era of 78 A.D. is of course clearly indicated by the contemporaneity of Rudrasiṁha III, who is the latest known Śaka ruler of Western India and issued coins about the year 310 (388 A.D.), with the Gupta monarch Candragupta II who annexed Western India to the Gupta empire after having extirpated Śaka rule and issued coins in that area about the Gupta year 90 (409 A.D.)

The Jain work *Lokavibhāga* was composed in the Śaka year 380 at the court of the Pallava king. Siṁhavarman of Kāñcī.[34] The year is described as one belonging to the Śaka people. This is the first instance where the specific name 'Śaka' is associated with the era. We have seen that it was probably the Jains of the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, who were originally subjects of the Śaka rulers, that spread the use of the Śaka era over the Southern part of India. Of course, we mean the Jain merchants settled in the South and the Jain scholars, astronomers and administrators in the service of the South Indian rulers. We have also seen that the Kannaḍa area, which became a stronghold of the Jains, not only favoured the use of that era but seems to have contributed to the development of the Śakāri Vikramāditya saga, although equally important contributors to the saga in South India appears to have been the Guttas (Guptas) of Dharwar, who claimed descent from Candragupta II Vikramāditya. The Śaka era was regularly used in the official royal records of South India by the Cālukyas of Bādāmi from the sixth century A.D. In the Cālukya inscriptions, the era is associated with 'the Śaka kings' or especially with 'the accession of a Śaka king'.

If the Śaka era is no other than the Kaniṣka era, we owe an explanation as to why it is exceptionally associated not with the Kuṣāṇas but with the Śakas. It is probable that the Kuṣāṇas were not often clearly distinguished from the Śakas in Indian tradition. Sometimes the word *Śaka,* like *Yavana,* was used in a wider sense to indicate any foreigners coming through the north-western gates of India. This is indicated by the designations *Śaka* or *Yavana-Śaka* often applied to the Muhammadans in medieval inscriptions.[35] But a more important fact to be remembered in this connection is that the Śakas of Western India were using the era continuously for over three centuries, even long after the decline of Kuṣāṇa power in India. It was therefore natural for their neighbours to associate the era exclusively with the Śaka kings of Western India.

In later times, people tried to forget the foreign association of the Śaka era and the word *Śaka* (or *Śāka*), as we have seen, began to be used in the sense of 'a year' or 'an era'. The same tendency is noticed in the thirteenth century and later when the Śaka era was sometimes associated with Śālivāhana, famous in Indian tradition and folklore as a great popular hero of the type of Vikramāditya.[36] The earliest reference to the Śaka era as the reckoning of Śālivāhana is found in the Kannaḍa work entitled *Udbhaṭakāvya*[37] composed by Somarāja 'when 1144 years of the era known as Śālivāhana-Śaka had elapsed', *i.e.* Śaka 1144= 1222 A.D. As already indicated above, the Kannaḍa country seems to have contributed considerably to the development of the Śālivāhana saga. The popular fiction substituting *Śālivāhana* for *Śaka* (meaning 'a Śaka king') as the founder of the era of 78 A.D. probably rested, as we have seen, on the memory of the achievements of Simuka-Śātavāhana and his descendants including Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who was a destroyer of the Śakas and other foreigners.

IV

KING VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE VIKRAMA-SAṀVAT

With the glaring instance of Śālivāhana's imaginary association with the foundation of the Śaka era before us, it is really impossible to regard the exactly similar association of another popular hero of Indian tradition and folklore, namely Vikramāditya, with the foundation of the essentially foreign era of 58 B.C. as in any way a peculiar case in the history of ancient India. But, if the Scytho-Parthian era of East Iran has to be identified with the Vikrama-saṁvat of 58 B.C., we have to determine as to how it came to be associated with the name of Vikramāditya who is essentially, as we have seen, no other than Candragupta II Vikramāditya (376-413 A.D.) of the imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha.

The earlier records bearing dates in the Scytho-Parthian era naturally do not call it by a specific name. The earliest epigraphs that have a name for the reckoning come from the Rajasthan region and belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D. In these records, the era is called *Kṛta* (or *Krita* which is a mistake for *Kṛta* or *Krīta*).[38] Slightly later inscriptions not only endow the era with the name of Kṛta (or Krīta), but also associate it with the Mālava people.[39] The Mālava association of the era is indicated in the records in passages like 'the era handed down by the Mālava republic' or 'the year counted in accordance with the custom established by, or from the foundation of, the Mālava republic' (*Mālavānāṁ gaṇa-sthityā* or °*sthityāḥ;* also *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt*) and 'the date (*pūrvā*) of the Mālavas'.[40] Then it was also known as the era 'that speaks of the glory of the Mālava dynasty (*vaṁśa*)' and later as the era 'belonging to the Mālava people' (*Mālava-kāla*) or 'to the king or kings of the Mālavas' (*Mālav-eśa*). The Dhiniki inscription[41] of 794 (737 A.D.) calls the year *Vikrama-saṁvatsara,* 'the year of Vikrama'. In an inscription[42] of the year 898 (841 A.D.), the reckoning is called the era of one named

Vikrama (*kālasya Vikram-ākhyasya*) while in another record[43] of 1103 (1046 A.D.) the year is qualified by the name Vikramāditya (*vatsarair=Vikramādityaiḥ*). Some records of this period regard the era as 'founded by Vikramāditya' (*Vikramādity-otpādita*).[44]

We have seen above, how the Mālava people originally lived in the valley of the river Ravi in the Punjab when Alexander invaded North-Western India in the fourth century B.C. It has also been shown that the Mālavas, or at least a very considerable section of them, gradually migrated to the Jaipur-Tonk region of Rajasthan where they made modern Nagar (old Mālavanagara) their headquarters. Their movement from the Punjab to Rajasthan appears to have been under the pressure of foreign invasions, although even in their new home in Rajasthan they had apparently to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇas.

As has been already indicated, the north-western and western parts of India became a prey successively of the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians and Parthians, and the Kuṣāṇas. The Scytho-Parthians introduced the use of the East Iranian era of 58 B.C., probably founded by Vonones, in the north-western part of India including the Punjab about the beginning of the Christian era. The Mālavas, who appear to have submitted to the Scytho-Parthians in the Punjab, probably carried the use of the above era to Rajasthan. There is no doubt that the Mālavas were responsible for the popularisation of the era of 58 B.C. in Rajasthan and ultimately in certain other parts of India.

In Rajasthan, at first, the Mālavas designated their era, borrowed from the Scytho-Parthians in the Punjab, by the name Kṛta (or Krīta). The real significance of this name is as yet unknown. But as Kṛta is fairly well known as a personal name in ancient Indian literature,[45] it has been supposed that Kṛta was an illustrious leader of the Mālava tribe and that his name was associated with the era used by the Mālavas after he had thrown off the yoke of the Kuṣāṇas of Kaṇiṣka's house, who used the Kaṇiṣka era.[46] The idea that inspired powerful kings to institute new eras to substitute others already in the field may have induced the Mālavas to be the champions of the era that was already in use among them in preference to its rival, viz. the Kaṇiṣka era of 78 A.D., which was associated with their erstwhile overlords. Another probability is that the name Kṛta (or Krīta) is a Sanskritic modification of some Scytho-Parthian name or word. It is interesting to note that, according to a Buddhist tradition recorded by Hiuen-tsang, some barbarian kings of the north-western parts of India including Gandhāra and Kaśmīra were known to the Indians as *Krīta* or 'the Purchased',[47] and that a people of this name is sometimes mentioned in Indian epigraphic and literary records.[48] It is thus not improbable that both *Kṛta* (made) and *Krīta* (purchased) are Indian adaptations of some foreign term.

The entry of the Mālavas in the territories now known as Malwa has been discussed earlier. It seems that both the Aulikara ruling family of Mandasor and the so-called 'Later Guptas' of East Malwa belonged to the Mālava tribe. The popularisation of the Kṛta (or Krīta) or Mālava era, *i.e.*, the old Scytho-Parthian reckoning of 58 B.C. in the Malwa region was apparently due to them, especially the Aulikaras.

The earliest use of the same era outside the western and north-western parts of India is found in the Haraha inscription[49] of Maukhari Īśānavarman, dated in the year 611. The use of the Kṛta (or Krīta)-Mālava era by the Maukharis of U.P. and Bihar is clearly explained by the Badva inscriptions[50] of the third century A.D., found in the Kotah region of Rajasthan. These records belong to the Maukharis and are dated in the Kṛta (or Krīta)-Mālava era. The Maukharis therefore appear to have carried the use of the above era from their home in Rajasthan to their new settlements in the east. As we have indicated above, there is some evidence to show that these Maukharis belonged to the Mālava stock.

Another factor that contributed to the spread of the era was probably the Ujjayinī school of astronomers who favoured both the Śaka and Vikrama eras. It seems that some astronomers favoured the era of 58 B.C., the foreign association of which had been long ago forgotten. After the Maukharis, the use of the era was continued in the U.P. region by the Malayaketus and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. That the Vikrama era was introduced in the age of the Maukharis or their successors in Bihar as well seems to be suggested by the date, Saṁvat 898 (841 A.D.), quoted in the *Nyāyasūcī* of the Maithila scholar Vācaspati-miśra as the year of its composition.[51] A manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is known to have been copied in Tīrabhukti (Tirhut) in Saṁvat 1076 (1019 A.D.).[52] But its use in Bihar could not become popular because the Pālas, who ruled there for several centuries, used their regnal reckoning. With the gradual extention of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra power over wide regions of Northern India, the popularity of the era of 58 B.C. increased considerably. A third contributory cause of the popularity of the above era was probably the gradual development of the Vikramāditya saga.

When the memory of the Mālava tribe and its republic was dimmed, the era of 58 B.C. came to be associated with the Mālava people or with the king or kings of the Mālavas. The whole of West India where the Mālavas lived was annexed to the Gupta empire by Candragupta II Vikramāditya who extirpated the Śakas of Ujjayinī about the close of the fourth century A.D. and seems to have employed his son Govindagupta as his viceroy at the said city. From this time, Ujjayinī probably became a secondary capital of the Gupta emperors and, as indicated above, Candragupta II gradually became famous in Indian tradition and folklore as Vikramāditya Śakāri, the lord of Ujjayinī (and Pāṭaliputra). Thus, in the early medieval period, the title 'lord of the Mālava people (living in Malwa and its neighbourhood)' came to be applied to Vikramāditya (Candragupta II) and it was then quite natural to identify the *Mālav-eśa*, i.e., 'the king of the Mālavas', with whom the era of 58 B.C. had already come to be associated after the obscuration of the memory of the Mālava republic in the course of time, with the great Vikramāditya of tradition sometime about the eighth century A.D. As has already been pointed out, the Vikramāditya saga began to develop as early as the days of the Gupta Vikramādityas about the fifth century A.D. and gained some strength in the following century as evidenced by the works of Paraṁārtha and Subandhu. But the era of 58 B.C. came to be associated with the name of Vikramāditya only about the eighth century when the Vikrama saga was considerably developed.

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[1] Some aspects of the question were discussed in fuller details in the *Vikrama Volume*, pp. 557ff. See additionally Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II (*The Age of Imperial Unity*), pp. 124ff. and also my *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 219ff.

[2] Lüders' List, No. 1196.

[3] Cf. *Mahāpadm-ābhiṣekāt=tu yāvaj=janma Parikṣitaḥ/ evaṁ varṣa-sahasran=tu jñeyaṁ pañcāsad-uttaram*//with *pañcadaś-ottaram* and *pañca-śat-ottaram* in some manuscripts (Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58).

[4] There may have been a belief in the medieval age that an era started in the reign of Nanda, though the suggestion seems to be based on the misreading of an epigraphic passage. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 324-25.

[5] Cf. above, pp. 44ff., 61-62.

[6] As we have seen above, the Ceylonese chronicles suggest 346 or 343 B.C. while the Jain works would suggest *circa* 424 B.C. See pp. 31 and 47.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 7.

[8] I. 49. See also Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIII. 3.

[9] *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 479ff., 675ff.

[10] For the doubtful nature of the tradition regarding this era, see *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 72ff.; *Ind. Ep.* pp. 323-24.

[11] Trenckner, *Milindapañho*, p. 3.

[12] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 203.

[13] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 239, note 7.

[14] Some writers are inclined to believe that Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I refers to the year 256 of the Buddha Parinirvāṇa era. But the view is based on a fantastic interpretation of the record. See Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, 1958, pp. 29-30.

[15] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206 ff. There is no reference to any era of the Nandas and Mauryas in this epigraph.

[16] The Barli inscription does not refer to the Jain Nirvāṇa era. See *Sel. Ins.*, 1965 ed., pp. 89-90.

[17] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1281.

[18] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 281.

[19] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 123, 125, note.

[20] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 120. On one such record, Sten Konow reads the date as the Śaka-saṁvatsara 60 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 199-200).

[21] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 120, 135, 143; 146; 153.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22.

[23] Cf. Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, pp. 246ff.

[24] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 128.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[26] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 125, note; p. 144, note 1.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 120ff., 136ff.

[28] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 127ff.

[29] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 143ff.

[30] *Loc. cit.*

[31] An inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96-97) of a king named Kaniṣka is found to be written in developed characters almost resembling the early Gupta script. The date in the record has been variously read as the year 14, 54, 84, 104, etc. Examination of an impression of the inscription has, however, convinced us that the reading is 14. See *Sel. Ins.*, 1965 ed., p. 518.

[32] See the views of Sten Konow and V. A. Smith criticised in *PHAI*, 1938, p. 386, 392, note.

[33] Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil's views that Caṣṭana was the founder of the Śaka era (*Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 26). See *PHAI*, 1938, p. 392, note.

[34] *A. R. Arch. Mys.*, 1909, p. 31; 1910, pp. 45ff. For a recently published Vākāṭaka inscription bearing the same date, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1ff.; *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. 1, pp. 94ff.

[35] See Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, No. 859.

[36] Originally Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana were the respective heroes of North Indian and South Indian folklore. But, although the Śātavāhana king flourished earlier than the Gupta Vikramādityas, the development of the Śālivāhana saga in the South was considerably influenced by the growth and spread of the Vikramāditya tradition. The creation of Śālivāhana as a national hero was essentially due to South India's desire to have her own counterpart of Vikramāditya of the North.

[37] See *JOR,* Vol. XVIII, p. 190. The views expressed in *JOR,* Vol. XIX, pp. 42-43, on the same subject are wrong as they are based on a misunderstanding.

[38] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1-2, 4; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff., etc.

[39] *Ibid.,* Nos. 2, 5; cf. Nos. 6 ff.

[40] *Ibid.,* Nos. 5, 6, 9.

[41] *Ibid.,* No. 17.

[42] *Ibid.,* No. 27.

[43] *Ibid.,* No. 128.

[44] *Ibid.,* No. 141.

[45] Penzer, *Ocean of Stories,* Vol. III, p. 19.

[46] Cf. *R. G. Bhandarkar Com. Vol.,* p. 101.

[47] Cf. Fleet in *JRAS,* 1913, pp. 996, 998.

[48] Cf. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXIII, p. 152.

[49] *Ibid.,* Vol. XVI, pp. 110 ff.

[50] *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 92 ff.

[51] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIX, p. 53.

[52] *Journ. As. Soc.,* 1903 (Vol. LXXII, Part i), p. 18; 1954 (Vol. XX, Letters, No. 1), p. 43.

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Page 7, line 16—*Read*—Kṛta-Krīta 295
,, 12, line 22—*Read*—East Malwa
,, ,, line 33—*Read*—Mālava
,, 15, line 1—*Read*—Īśānavarman
,, ,, line 16—*Read*—no doubt the
,, ,, lines 30-31—*Read*—Kumāragupta
,, 16, line 6—*Read*—Prabhākaravardhana
,, 17, line 25—*Read*—Daśārṇa
,, 18, line 32—*Read*—1000-55 A.D.
,, 19, line 2—*Read*—Yādava
,, 20, line 27—Read—*opamāḥ*
,, 21, line 31—*Read*—Paṇḍit
,, ,, line 40—*Read*—lines 15-16
,, 22, line 2—*Read*—Śīlāditya
,, 24, line 33—*Read*—Eran in the Saugor District
,, 25, line 6—*Read*—Vītihotra
,, ,, line 27—*Read*—Sunika (Sunaka, Śunika, etc.)
,, 26, lines 23—Read—*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*
,, ,, line 37—*Read*—Śiśunāga
,, 27, line 1—*Read*—of Magadha ruled (according to Buddhist tradition)
,, ,, line 27—*Read*—the period
,, 28, line 10—*Read*—the Buddha (*circa* 546-494 B.C.).
,, 31, lines 14-15—*Read*—tentatively tabulated as follows: *and bring after this the table at* p. 30.
,, 37, line 38.—Read—*bhaviṣyo.*
,, ,, line 43—Read—*aṣṭātriṁśac*
,, 48, line 2—*Read*—information
,, ,, line 13—*Read*—Antigonus
,, 50, line 1—*Read*—Kapilavastu (correctly *Kapilavāstu*)
,, 51, line 17—*Read*—Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha

Page 67, last line—*Read*—Brāh-
,, 68, line 25—*Read*—princess
,, 84, line 5—Read—*vasundharām. . .yac=chiṣṭaṁ*
,, 85, line 1—*Add*—For another similar Greek record, see *Journ. As.*, 1964, pp. 137 ff.
,, 86, line 18—*Read*—Kuṣāṇa emperors
,, 87, line 26—*Read*—and Kukura and Ānarta
,, 89, line 29—*Read*—Rudradāman I
,, 90, line 18—Read—*svayaṁvaras*
,, 94, line 32—*Read*—Dāmajadaśrī
,, 96, line 6—*Read*—Vidiśā
,, ,, line 25—*Read*—240-75 A.D.
,, 105, line 20-21—*Read*—inclined
,, ,, line 28—*Read*—Rawwāl
,, 108, line 13—Read—*Kādambarī*
,, 113, line 30—Read—*Bṛhatkathā*
,, 114, lines 2 and 5—Read—*Sattasaī*
,, ,, lines 8-9—Read—*aṅgāraka-vāra*
,, 118, line 18—*Read*—Hinduka-deśa
,, 124, line 10—Read—*Bhārata Kaumudī*
,, ,, line 15—*Read*—Vikramāditya
,, 126, line 13—*Add*—See Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, 1913, p. 248, note 93.
,, ,, line 20.—Read—*aṅkānāṁ*
,, 126, line 28—Read—*Pañcasiddhāntikā*
,, 127, line 3—Read—*Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*
,, 128, line 22—*Read*—Śālivāhana
,, 148, line 14—*Add*—because it is also not mentioned by Bāṇa's commentator.
,, 159, line 22—*Read*—make it clear

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